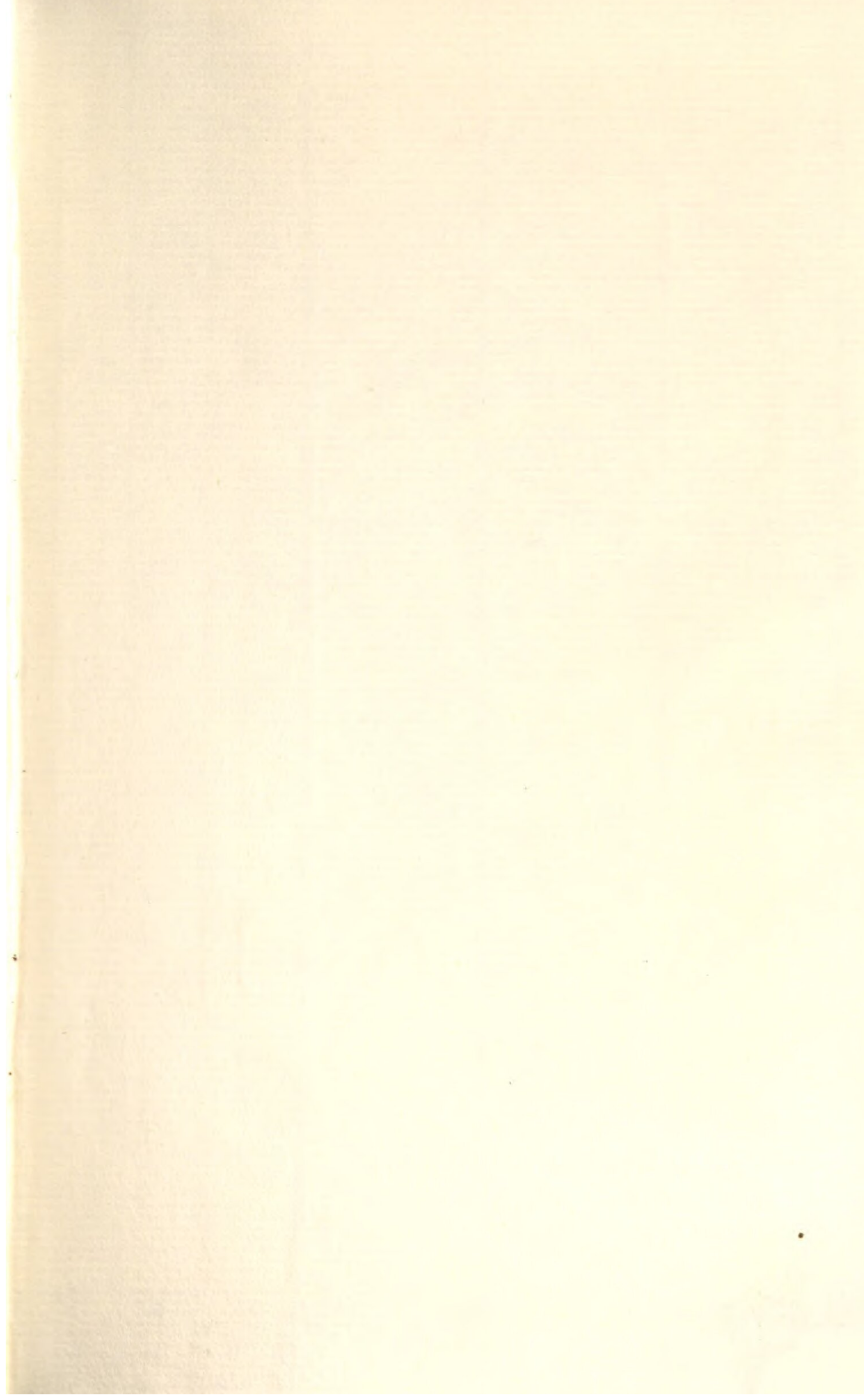


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SILAS JAMES.

A
NARRATIVE
OF A
VOYAGE TO ARABIA, INDIA, &c.

Containing, amidst a Variety of Information,
A DESCRIPTION OF SALDANHA BAY;
WITH REMARKS

On the Genius and Disposition of the
NATIVES OF ARABIA FELIX;

The Manners and Customs of the
PEOPLE OF HINDOSTON;

OF THE
ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR,
And other Parts beyond the
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Interpersed with some Particulars, relative to
THE AUTHOR'S
REMARKABLE INTERVIEW WITH HIS FATHER,
ON THE COAST OF MALABAR.
Performed in the Years 1781, 82, 83, and 84.

BY *SILAS JAMES.*

With an elegant HEAD of the AUTHOR.

“ Quæque ipse miserrima vidi
“ Et quorum pars magna fui.”——VIRG.

London.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
AND SOLD BY W. BAYNES, NO. 54, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1797.

46/65/275

IN A R R A T I V E

TO THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

AND OF THE

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF PARIS

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY JOHN HANCOCK

ESQ. OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

Printed by J. H. BAXTER, No. 24, PATERNOSTER ROW

1847

Bayerische
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München

Entered in the Year 1847, 24, and 25

By JOHN HANCOCK

Esq. of the Middle Temple

Quodque ipse noster vult

in quoniam pars magna est

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR

AND SOLD BY J. H. BAXTER, No. 24, PATERNOSTER ROW

10 B. M. S.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
EARL of DARTMOUTH.

MY LORD,

IMPRESSED with a rational and lively Sense of your Lordship's Friendship for my Grandfather, the late Reverend Silas Told; and calling to mind in a manner it becomes me, that to this Friendship, so exalted in itself, so highly valuable in its fruits, I am wholly indebted for whatever portion of Education I am possessed of; I humbly presume it my Duty to lay before you the Use I have made of it; and should deem myself wanting in Gratitude, were I to withhold this just, but feeble Tribute of Acknowledgment. The following Sheets, My Lord, contain a plain, unvarnished Relation of the different Scenes I pervaded from the time of my Discharge from Christ's Hospital, in the Year 1780, till my return from India in 1784. Since that Period I have used every Exertion to secure a permanent Settlement, and although I have not yet been able to attain the object of my Views, yet, I flatter myself, I have acquired some useful Knowledge and Experience;
and

and have the consolation to Reflect that my Probity is unimpeachable, and my Character unsullied ; I will even candidly own to your Lordship that I am not without hope that the serene Sun of Prosperity will shine on my future Hours, having the most unbounded reliance on Him who has conducted me safe through so many difficulties and Dangers :—I have the Honor to be, with Sentiments of unfeigned Veneration and Gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

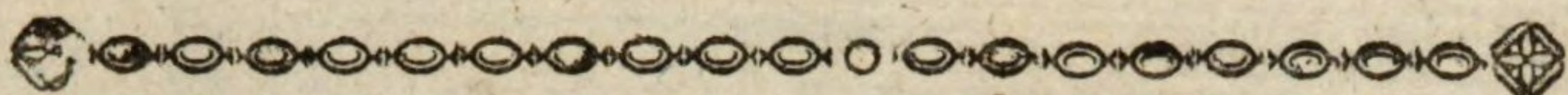
most duiful, and truly devoted

humble Servant,

Silas James.

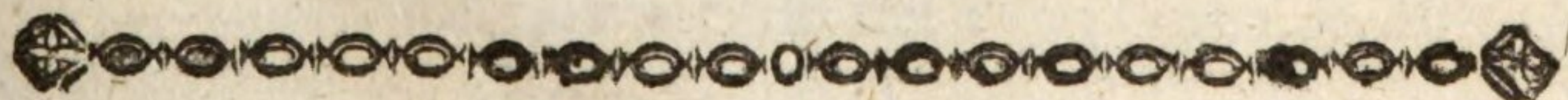
COVENTRY-STREET,

Feb. 14, 1797. }



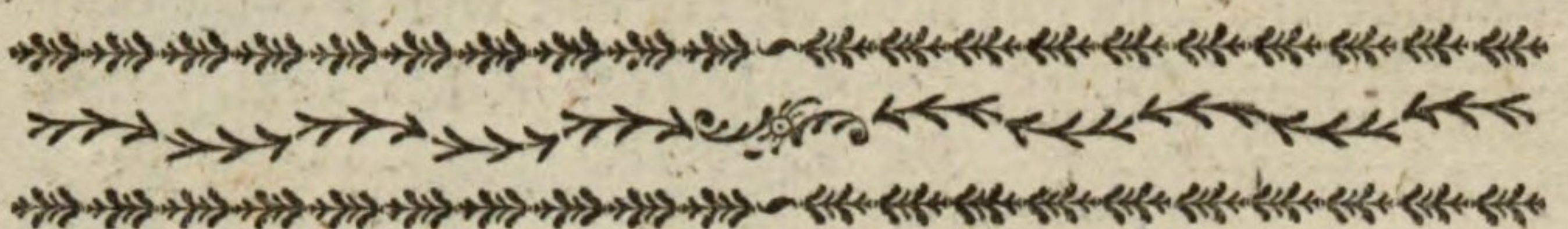
INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I come directly to the Subject of those Occurrences that fell under my Observation in the course of this long and interesting Voyage, it appears to me highly necessary that I should previously take some notice of the Circumstances that led to it; but as I cannot, with propriety, date those Circumstances from any one particular period between my Nativity, and the Day on which I sailed from England in the Ship Content of Whitby, it will be necessary to go back to the earliest period of my Recollection, and begin my Narrative with my Life.



INTRODUCTION

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to go back to the earliest period of my Re-
collection, and begin my Narrative with my
Life.



A VOYAGE

T O

Arabia, India &c.

I WAS born in London, on the 20th of November, 1765. Shortly after, my father becoming an officer of excise, he was first stationed at Bibury, in Gloucestershire, where he remained a twelve-month, and was afterwards removed to Church Lamborn, Berks. Here our family remained a considerable space of time; and here I was put to the school of a Mr. Walbancke, where I continued until I was nine years of age. At this time, my mother's father, the late reverend Mr. Silas Told, from the particular regard with which the present earl of Dartmouth was pleased to honour him, obtained in 1776, his lordship's presentation for Christ's hospital. The ensuing year I was admitted into the Latin school, where I continued several months but was afterwards, contrary to the expectation and desire of

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my grandfather, removed into the writing school; four years I continued here, in the course of which time I acquired a little education, but lost my grandfather, who was the only temporal prop of our family.* My uncle, Mr. John James then a merchant in London, from a sensible and truly compassionate consideration of the ills to which his brother's family must unavoidably be exposed, made me the first object of his generous concern; he therefore put his good intentions into execution, but being at that time unacquainted with the established custom of this institution, namely, of putting out to trades at its own cost, every boy regularly discharged therefrom: without considering this, he took me out of the school and put me into his own warehouse.

Here I remained four months, and was afterwards sent to Kingston, to serve an uncle of mine who was, and still is an eminent attorney in that town: three months I remained there, when I was afterwards sent up to London again. Hereupon, I have since imagined, that as my uncle who lived in London, was then immersed in business, and fearful that his brother's children would prove a continual and disagreeable incumbrance to him, he might have thought it expedient to send my brother and self to sea.

Just at this time, the usher's place at a grammar school in Islington became vacant, and on application, I was chosen to supply it. Here I considered myself quite settled and therefore promised myself much future satisfaction in that sphere: so satisfied was Mr. Davis with my services, that he proposed to my uncles the terms on which he would article me: these terms not being accepted by

* My father, previous to the demise of my grandfather went abroad,

by either of my uncles, I was dismissed from Mr. Davis's desirable employ, with much reluctance on my part, and with no great pleasure on his. My uncle now sent for my mother, and communicated to her his intention of sending me to sea. My mother, sensibly touched by my uncle's resolution, returned home, and asked me, weeping, if I could reconcile myself to a birth at sea: totally averse to the very idea of this, I replied in the negative; but when I heard that it was my uncle's determination, whose well-meant resolutions I thought it my duty not to oppose; I quietly submitted to my fate, and the next day prepared myself for my new and unexpected change of life.

Being now just 14 years of age, I engaged with a Mr. Atty, a Yorkshire merchant, and next day repaired on board his ship at New Crane; her name was the Content. I now found the necessity of being content myself, yet not before I had experienced an excess of grief and trouble; grief at parting from a disconsolate parent, and trouble (more than I can describe) from a kind of anticipation of that irrational treatment which youth in the commencement of a sea-faring life never fails to experience.

About a fortnight after my embarkation, my presentiments in respect to the brutal behaviour of those with whom I had to do, were but too unfortunately realized. Here I was not only at the call of every boy on board, but whenever they thought fit (which was perhaps fifty times a day) I was obliged to mount at a word, the top-mast head, with the bag of grease around my neck to grease the mast, and if I attempted to intimate to any of them, or even to the captain, that being but a fresh, inexperienced sailor,

failor, I could not possibly effect what I had to do without assistance, I ever met with a denial, accompanied with a rope's end across my shoulders; whilst, in the mean time, my unfeeling companions were sitting in the cabin enjoying themselves after their own way. To this great want of just discipline the ship was subject till our arrival at Portsmouth, which port we happily gained in about two months after my first entrance on board at New Crane.

Mr. Atty, the owner of the *Content*, and of four other vessels, now entered into a charterparty with government; these vessels were all admitted into the transport service, and in the month of January, we received on board, two companies of the 2nd. battallion of the 42nd. regiment.

From this day, proper discipline was enforced by one of the king's officers, and I was heartily thankful, for it destroyed at once, that wanton and outrageous conduct discovered by the sailors, of which I even then thought I had my share.

In the month of March, 1781, the grand fleet lying at Spithead, under the command of admiral Darby, ready to sail, commodore Johnstone threw out the signal for every ship in his squadron, together with his convoy to make ready for sea also, in order to accompany the grand fleet down channel: this being done, and the commanders having severally received their instructions, our whole fleet set sail on the 13th of March, 1781, with promising weather, a fresh breeze, and a staunch convoy. The uncoppered vessels lagging a stern, the grand fleet soon ran us out of sight; the wind, however, continuing fair and strong, we scudded down channel with our own squadron, which consisted of the following ships of war, East India ships, and merchantmen.

Ships

Ships of War.

Romney	50	Guns	Commodore Johnstone,
Hero	74		captain Ward,
Monmouth	64		Alms,
Jupiter	50		Paifly,
Ifis	50		Sutton,
Apollo	38		
Jafon	36		
Active	32		
Diana	28		
Terror		Bomb	
Infernal		Fireship	
Pondicherry		Armed-ship	
Raikes		Ditto	
Manilla		Ditto	
Resolution		Ditto	
Porporfe		Ditto	
Royal Charlotte		Ditto	
Rattlesnake		Cutter	
Lark		Ditto	
Oporto		Sloop	
San Carolos		Armed-ship	

East India Ships.

Locke

Asia

Osterly

Latham

Lord North

Fortitude

Fortitude
 Essex
 Queen
 Chapman
 Hastings
 Hinchinbroke
 Southampton
 Valentine

Transports.

Content
 Three Sisters
 Myrtle
 Eagle

Store Ships.

Jupiter
 Union
 Prudence

Victuallers.

Admiral Keppel
 Sykes
 Elizabeth
 Edward
 Nancy

On the 15th at midnight we came abreast of the Lizard lights: next morning a strange sail was in sight, and the Rattlesnake cutter was sent in chase of her, which she soon overtook, and proving a Dutchman an engagement ensued, which lasted seven glasses, when mynheer was taken, and brought the same day into the fleet.

Now after having experienced very unsettled weather, (especially in the skirts of the Bay of Biscay) about the end of this month we reached the Island of Madeira; the
 wind

wind being extremely boisterous, the fleet was obliged to stand off and on, in the hope of its abating, but finding it to continue with unremitting violence, we departed from this island and made for the Cape de Verds.

On the 31st of March, at six o'clock in the morning, the fleet arrived off the isle Bonavista. Here we sailed along shore with a pleasant breeze, and in full expectation of finding an anchoring place, but as the commodore was baffled in his expectation, he sheered off, and the next day we brought to our view the Island of Mayo. Here we were overtaken by a terrible squall of wind, which carried away the Locko's foretopmast: On the clearing up of the squall we made in for the land, and coasting it, the commodore discovered a space, which appeared to him not unlike a bay: the signal was hereupon made to prepare for anchorage, and the whole fleet with all sails set ran into the bay, and came to anchor. Here the Locko repaired her damage.

Commodore Johnstone, thinking this bay too incommodious, to water the whole fleet with the desired facility and expedition, directed part of the men of war, and all the Indiamen to proceed to the island of St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verds, about 14 leagues from the island Mayo, to obtain refreshments, with orders for our detached squadron to rejoin the commodore as soon as we had completed our water, &c. &c. Several of our men now went on shore in the boat to purchase such provisions as the island would afford, and after having trucked with the natives (who were black Portugeze) for something that was fit to be eaten, we brought on board several goats, fowls and pigs, besides many monkies, with some oranges, plantains, milk, honey, yams and Indian corn:
for

for all these different articles they received from us, to the nearest of my recollection, only six 4lb pieces of salt beef, and about two-thirds of an old checked shirt.

On the 15th of April 1781, captain Alms of the Monmouth, who was our deputed commodore, made the signal to weigh and proceed to St. Jago, to rejoin the fleet: we accordingly sailed in the morning and joined them in the evening. Our ship was brought up on the outside of the bay, but the commodore disapproving our outside birth, sent a message to our captain, signifying his desire, that we should weigh anchor and run farther into the bay, that in case any thing should happen, the Content might be more immediately under the protection of the men of war. The most prompt obedience was paid to the commodore's directions in this point, and on the morrow, we tripped our small bower, and taking a few tacks to windward, came to and moored close to the Romney, then at anchor inside the whole fleet. Hardly was the anchor dropt, when the signal was seen flying from the mast-head of the Isis, announcing a fleet of strange ships in the offing; the commodore answered the signal, and the ships made ready for battle; the strange ships were now in sight, five heavy men of war came round the point of the island, and having come within cables length of our vessels, the leading ship of this squadron let go her anchor; this was immediately followed by the firing of a gun, but as none perceived the effect of the shot, we could form no accurate judgment of the project these busy and abrupt visitants had then in view. The next minute, however, they took the liberty to inform us of their intentions, and who they really were, by a severe broadside at the Isis, and then hoisted a white flag at the mizen peak, as a signal to engage: the
British

British commodore instantly let fly the red flag from the Romney's foretop-gallant mast-head, in answer to the enemy's salute. A tremendous action now commenced, but the French having considerable advantage, both in ships and situation, the victory was then doubtful; they had at the same time, the weather-gage of us: added to this, all our men of war were unrigged, their guns choaked up with the water casks, and the greater part of the seamen at work on shore. The process of the engagement I will here attempt to describe.

Our ships that could get guns to bear, sent vollies of 32 and 24 pounders among their squadron, and this they did with pretty good effect. In about ten minutes after it began, a general huzza went through our fleet, occasioned by the French admiral's mizen-top-mast falling overboard, and soon afterwards his ensign, and ensign staff: the other ships of the enemy, like formidable floating castles, followed in, and would have stretched to windward of our fleet, (for their intention was to cut our commodore adrift,) but falling to leeward, they were obliged to drop anchor, as their commodore had done; when they let fly among our ships as fast as possible; whilst some of our merchant vessels, and the troops on board the armed ships that were moored within the bay, thinking, (for the smoke had so deceived them) that they were firing at the enemy, levelled their musquetry at our own East India ships, and killed and wounded several of our own countrymen. The Romney, which was the commodore's ship, had scarcely any part in the action: she was moored inside the fleet, so that she could fire only under two openings, and then the utmost precision was necessary; neither could she veer away cable, to recover a large space, as the Jason frigate laid right astern of her: all this time, the Hero, which lay with

her bowsprit over the taffarel of our ship, kept up a constant, heavy discharge of artillery. The action lasted two hours, during which period, the troops on board our vessel, were ordered to prostrate themselves upon the deck, that the enemy might not perceive them, and by that means prevent their sinking us: in the heat of the conflict, nothing could be seen but smoke and torrents of fire all around us; this forced one of the sailors to cry out to the carpenter, to cut the cable with his adze; who with the consent of the captain, as eagerly ran forward to execute it, but another voice earnestly called to the carpenter to hold his hand, telling him the danger of so unprecedented a step, and seeing none others attempt to drive out from our company, we remained fast, and were determined to abide the consequence; whilst the enemy's ball flew amidst our masts and rigging; yet we were wonderfully sheltered on one side by the Monmouth, which lay on our starboard beam, and received in her own hull, that shot, which otherwise must necessarily strike the Content.

The enemy had now suffered so much from us, that they were obliged to cut away, and drive out with the wind and tide. The French Hannibal, of 74 guns, lost all her masts, and bowsprit, with near 200 men, the greater part of whom were killed by our East Indiamen, and merchant vessels; the other ships of the enemy, suffered in proportion to their share in the battle; the loss on our side was truly inconsiderable. Captain Campbell, of the 42nd. regiment, on board our ship, was a sufferer by this conflict, owing to a 32 pound ball having entered one of the port holes, buried itself in his only hamper of wine, and left but a few bottles unbroken.

One of the French line of battle ships, which came last into

into the bay, when the enemy had cut adrift, was left behind, an object to be fired at by every ship in our fleet that could get guns to bear. In this dilemma, that unfortunate man of war remained about 40 minutes, scarcely firing a gun the whole time. Such a spectacle of distress, I never saw before. Whether the cable were cut away by our shot, or whether it were cut by themselves, I cannot say, but the ship went round upon the heel, her stern falling close to the broadside of the Isis; her masts were tottering, her yards hanging different ways, her sails flying about in rags; first fell the mizen mast, next went the main mast, and about ten minutes afterwards, the fore-mast and bowsprit fell into the water together.

As I have here given but a very imperfect account of this action, I am induced to subjoin part of a letter from commodore Johnstone, to the earl of Hillsborough, on this subject, extracted from the commodore's dispatches.

Porto Praya road, Isle St. Jago, April 16, 1781.

My Lord,

“ The action bordered upon a surprise,
“ and the nature of the service in which we were engaged,
“ rendered us liable to much confusion; yet upon the
“ whole, until the enemy was beaten off, I saw nothing
“ but steady, cool, determined valour.

“ Captain Alms, of the Monmouth, kept up a well
“ directed fire.

“ Captain Pasley had worked hard from the beginning
“ of the action, and had got a spring upon his cable,
“ by which effort, every shot told from the Jupiter.

“ The signal,” adds the commodore, “ was now made
“ for all captains, and after hearing the condition of every
ship,

“ ship, I directed the men of war, to cut and slip as fast
“ as they could, and get to sea, to follow up the victory,
“ with orders to make any India ships that lay in their
“ way, cut their cables, that his majesty's ships might not
“ be impeded.

“ Soon as the Jason was out of the way, the Romney
“ was cast off by a spring on the cable, and went to sea,
“ under the acclamations of the whole fleet.

“ The Jupiter instantly followed, and we ran between
“ our scattered ships, and the enemy.

“ Perceiving neither the Isis nor the Diana making any
“ signs to follow, though both of them lay in clear births
“ for so doing, their several signals were made; the Diana
“ answered, and soon after followed; but although gun
“ after gun was fired, to enforce the signal to call out the
“ Isis, she still remained, without any signs of obedience
“ to my signal then abroad; at last the Hero came under
“ our stern, with a message from captain Sutton, saying,
“ that his masts and yards, sails and rigging, were so
“ wounded, that he could not come out without repairing
“ them, but that he would follow as fast as he could. My
“ answer was, all this is no excuse for disobeying my po-
“ sitive orders, besides, I think his damages immaterial to
“ a man of resources. Captain Sutton's signal was there-
“ fore enforced by another gun; he then hoisted his an-
“ swering flag, and came out after three hours delay.”

The above charge appears to me rather invidious: the
spirited conduct of captain Sutton, during the heat of the
battle, and his diligence in pursuing the French, after they
were beat off, confirmed him in the esteem of, and endeared
him to all his ship's company; who, with one voice, pro-
tested they would no longer navigate the ship, if the com-
modore

modore should remove their commander. But to return to the commodore's letter.

“ All the ships being now come out, the signal was
“ made to form the line a head, on the larboard tack. The
“ French, before this, had got their disabled ships in tow,
“ and had formed a line of battle abreast.

“ When the Isis joined us, she ran under our stern,
“ and repeated an account of her distress, particularly the
“ want of a mizen top-sail-yard, which I told the captain,
“ was nothing at all.

“ The signal was now made to bear up in a line of
“ battle a breast; at that instant, the Isis lost her foretop-
“ mast. I immediately shortened sail, to give time to the
“ Isis to clear the wreck, which was done in half an hour
“ or forty minutes.

“ This increased our distance from the enemy, but
“ gaining towards them, I again made the signal for the
“ line abreast. When we came near the enemy, we
“ found the Isis and Monmouth had dropt astern, about
“ two or three miles, though both of them sailed better than
“ the Romney: the Monmouth made sail accordingly, but
“ although the signal was continued, to bring the Isis to
“ join us, she still kept behind.

“ By these various obstructions and delays, the enemy
“ had drawn us far to leeward of St. Jago; the Sun was
“ set, the sea had increased; I could not propose a deci-
“ sive action in the night; if I followed till day-light, my
“ prospects were great and tempting, but I must then de-
“ termine to leave my convoy, and separate from the
“ troops, without any fixed determination concerning
“ them, or their destination.

“ The dilemma was great indeed, but after weighing
the

“ the subject in all its consequences, with those persons,
 “ in whose judgment I have the most confidence, I thought
 “ myself bound to return to the ships under my protection,
 “ and to pursue the object of the expedition; it being
 “ most probable, that the enemy must either send off two
 “ of their disabled ships to the West Indies, for water
 “ and provisions, in which case, I shall have a superior
 “ naval force, or they must touch at the brazils, for re-
 “ pairs; in either of these cases, we shall have a great
 “ advantage * by the preceeding action.

“ Next day we retook the Hinchinbroke, East India-
 “ man, and I learn from them, that the squadron which
 “ attacked us was composed of the following ships, viz.

“ L'Hero, 74 guns, M. de Sufferin, brigadier des armes;
 “ grand commander, de Malthe.

“ L'Hannibal, 74 guns, M. de Tremigon, capitaine de
 “ Vaisseau.

“ L'Artefein, 64 guns, M. de Cardaillac, chevalier de
 “ Malthe.

“ Le Sphynx, 64, guns M Duchillon, ; capitaine de
 “ Vaisseau.

“ L'Vengeur, 64 guns, M. de chevalier de Forbin,
 “ capitaine de Vaisseau.

“ The Hannibal was the ship which was dismasted,
 the

* A great advantage truly. Behold it in our slaughtered men, and
 shattered ships! The enemy, it is true, experienced a defeat, what then?
 we captured none of their ships, took none of their property, except a
 few cannon balls, that were found on shore, about one tenth of the num-
 ber of Englishmen that were slain. And suppose the French should have
 sent their disabled ships to the Brazils, what advantage was that to us,
 since it was not our intention to go after them?

“ the Hero led in, and suffered damages next to the Han-
“ nibal; the three others came in as they are named, but
“ these did not sustain much injury. The English Hero,
“ of 74 guns, captain Ward, boarded the Artesein, and
“ took 25 prisoners, the captain of which ship, was killed
“ by a grape shot he received in the shoulder:

“ The prisoners informed me, that this squadron sailed
“ from Brest with the count de Grasse, and twenty two
“ sail of the line, three of which were of three decks,
“ bound to Martinique, besides the Sagittaire of 50 guns,
“ bound to North America; that they separated off the
“ coast of the island of Madeira, and their purpose was to
“ attack the squadron under my command, wherever they
“ could find it, of which they had received a correct list
“ at Brest. That the Artesein first saw us lying in the
“ road, and tacked towards M. Sufferin, to inform him
“ of it; that he instantly ordered them to prepare for the
“ attack, and on being asked by M. Cardaillac, what
“ they should do if the Portugeze fort should fire on
“ them? He desired them to fire at the Portugeze forts
“ also, in return.

“ After an action of such length, in such a situation, in
“ smooth water, with large ships so near each other, it is
“ surprising how few men have been killed, and what
“ comparatively slight damage his majesty's ships have
“ received.

“ The Monmouth, lying within cables length of the
“ Hannibal, had not a man killed, and only six wounded.

“ The Jupiter had one killed, and only two wounded.

“ The Isis had four killed, and five wounded.

“ The Romney had seven wounded.

“ The Jason had four killed, and fourteen wounded,
among

“ among the former is lieutenant Keith, a brave and worthy officer.

“ The fate of the Infernal fire ship and Terror, bomb, deserves to be particularly related; they had come from the isle of May the day before, and lay to the eastward, without all the ships, notwithstanding my orders had been strictly given the over night, for all the small ships to anchor within the rest; the Content, transport, obeyed * my orders, and came to an anchor close to the Romney, just as the enemy appeared in fight..

“ The Terror had sprung her bowsprit, and was fishing it, when one of the 64 gun ships layed her aboard: she also catched fire, and the enemy durst not take possession of her, though invited so to do by captain Wood; she then cut her cable and drove to sea, where she lost her foremast and bowsprit; one of the French ships, again followed the Terror, in this miserable condition, and fired several shot at her, yet captain Wood, seeing us preparing to come out, would not strike his colours, but bravely contrived to set some stay sails, and slide off in that shattered condition.

“ The Infernal, fire ship, went to sea, and was taken by the enemy; by what means I cannot relate, but she was afterwards abandoned† by the enemy, as the Jupiter saw her the next day to leeward, with her distinguishing vanes and answering flag on board.

The

* This was truly providential, for we lay the outside ship of all the fleet, so that had our captain disobeyed this signal, we must inevitably have been sunk or taken, because we had troops on board.

† Either the commodore or myself have been misinformed here. I was told, that when the fire ship was taken, a dispute arose between two lieut

“ The Fortitude, East India ship, behaved with uncommon bravery; she was boarded by the Artefein, who
 “ fired many shot into her; several of the enemy were
 “ shot on the shrouds, as they jumped on board the Fortitude, yet in this situation, captain Jenkinson, of the 98th
 “ regiment, kept up a constant fire* with small arms, with
 “ which he did much execution. The Hinchinbroke,
 “ was also miserably cut, and mangled by the Artefein,
 “ before she was taken.

“ Many of the other India ships suffered considerable
 “ damages, and the Edward, victualler, was taken, and
 “ nearly sunk, but afterwards abandoned.

“ With great difficulty, after turning to windward many
 “ days, we recovered this bay, with the Fortitude, East
 “ India ship, and we towed in the Hinchinbroke and the
 “ Edward. §

“ I have judged it proper to put captain Sutton under
 “ arrest.

“ Since writing the above, the Infernal, fire ship, has
 “ joined us: the enemy had taken away captain Darby,
 “ with five seamen, and nine soldiers of the 98th regt.

D

The

tenants, about the office of prize master; they therefore went on board the French admiral, to decide it, mean while, the English sailors rose against the French, cut them all down, retook the fireship, and brought her into the fleet.

* One of the enemy's men, who had jumped on board the Fortitude was discovered making his way up to the top-gallant mast head, to strike the vane, and to hoist a French one in its place; he had nearly executed his design, when one of the privates of the 98th regiment, levelled his musket at him, and brought the daring mortal down.

§ Hence it appears, that notwithstanding the enemy had cut a drift, and taken five of our ships, and had them in their possession more than 24 hours, yet (to the glory of the British tars be it mentioned) they were not suffered to keep one of them.

“ The Oporto, sloop, has been ever since turning up,
 “ which shews the impossibility of joining the convoy, if
 “ I had followed the enemy.

“ We shall sail from this island to morrow, on our in-
 “ tended expedition, and the Oporto, sloop, will be ready
 “ to proceed to Europe with these dispatches.

I am, &c.

George Johnstone.

LIST OF KILLED, &c.

“ Total of killed and wounded, in the ships or vessels,
 “ under the command of commodore Johnstone, at Porto
 “ Praya Road, Island St. Jago, April 16, 1781.

“ Sixteen seamen, or petty officers killed; seventy seven
 “ ditto, wounded; four since dead of their wounds; eleven
 “ taken prisoners.

“ Twenty foldiers, or mariners killed; sixty three ditto
 “ wounded; four since dead of their wounds: nine taken
 “ prisoners.

Officers killed.

“ George Keith, first lieutenant of the Jason.
 “ Captain Crawford, of the 100th regiment, on board
 “ the Osterly East India ship.
 “ The Surgeon of the Osterly.
 “ Lieutenant Griffin, of the 98th regiment, on board the
 “ Pondicherry, armed transport.
 “ Lieutenant Morris, of the Pondicherry, in a boat com-
 “ ing from shore.

“ Henry Roach, master of the Porpoise, armed ship.

Officers wounded.

“ Lieutenant Donald Campbell, of the Terror, bomb.

Lieutenant

“ Lieutenant Hind, of the 98th regiment, on board the
“ Fortitude, east indiaman.

“ Total 42 killed 141 wounded.

Prisoner.

“ Captain Darby, of the Infernal, fire ship.

Having recapitulated the operations of this curious engagement, and transcribed, with impartiality, the greatest part of commodore Johnstone's letter, on this business, to the then first lord of the admiralty, my patient perusers will, perhaps, indulge me with their attention to the following remarks, which I shall make on the occurrences that attended our passage from this island, to the island of Bombay.

On our departure from St. Jago, finding that the commodore shaped his course to the southward, it was conjectured, that the object of our expedition was the Cape of Good Hope; but as the commanders of every ship in the fleet, were under a restriction not to open their sealed instructions, except in case of accidental separation from their convoy, we were, on that account, in a state of uncertainty, respecting the place of our destination.

In the beginning of the month of May, being in 31.34 north latitude, 15.20 west longitude, the weather was extremely warm: which circumstance added to the saltiness of their provision, and the small allowance of water, produced the most deleterious effects among the soldiery.

The scurvy, that fatal disease, especially when it happens on ship board, and in hot climates, now began to rage among the troops, and before we had reached the southern ocean, the men began to die, very fast; it was not unusual to throw half a dozen bodies over board in a day: this awful distemper was not confined to the

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privates;

privates; the colonel, major, captains, chaplain and subaltern officers, alike experienced its dire effects; and before the completion of our voyage, two-thirds were summoned to those regions, whence there is no return.

On the 30th of May, it being the sabbath, colonel McLeod, of this batalion, from a thorough sense of the miseries his troops were in, as well with regard to their dying bodies, as to futurity, directed the chaplain of this regiment, to repair on board the Content, that they might receive from him, some light concerning that state, into which, they seemed sensibly convinced, they were speedily to enter. A temporary rostrum was, therefore, erected on the quarter deck, and when the minister entered it, he opened divine worship by an extempore prayer, and afterwards preached extempore in the Erse tongue. I was pleased to hear the man, and do believe he spoke the words of undissembled sympathy; the diseased were all attention, whilst, (I am pained and ashamed to speak it), the boatswain, and others of the English seamen, were sitting at the spritsail yard, darting porpoises during the service, and because it was not spoken in English, some of the seamen impiously sported with the name of the divine Being, and made the sermon an occasion of laughter and ridicule: towards the close of this discourse, the clouds to windward became dark, and threatened a squall; in five minutes the horizon wore a dismal aspect; the ships to windward, some driven one way and some another; some laying on their beam ends, others, in confusion, clearing up their top-gallant sails, with their topsails flying about, soon brought these hardened fishermen from their amusement; and now dismay and horror sat on each countenance. The poor affrighted Highlanders

landers were hurried down into the 'tween decks, whilst the sailors, almost afraid to mount the top sail yard, as they ascended poured forth repeated curses and oaths against the preacher, from an ignorant idea, that when he prayed in Erse, he either prayed for a storm, or that the storm had happened in consequence of his prayer. But as these false notions were removed by the gradual decrease of this violent hurricane, without doing material injury to our vessel or men, the chaplain returned a thanksgiving for the deliverance, and then went on board his own ship, the three-sisters, in our boat. In the evening it became quite calm.

About the middle of June, we discovered, early one morning, the island of Trinidad; the commodore bore away before the wind, with a view to investigate the land, and ordered 500 men to be sent on shore, in order to make discoveries; the fleet kept working off and on during the night, and in the morning, the men returned on board the men of war, with an account of their discoveries, setting forth that they were accosted in the night by a number of Spaniards and Portuguese, who, upon hearing the report of our guns, came from a distant, unexplored part of the island, and asserted their prior right, to the advantages of the place, adding, that should the English have any intention of depriving them of it, they, the Portuguese, either separately, or in conjunction with the Spaniards, were determined to resist such an infringement of the rights of nations to the utmost of their power. The commander of the corps, well knowing the strength of England's foes, and not willing to engage in any hostile measure, that might tend to increase them, thought it more politic to return on board, and leave the Spaniards and Portuguese in possession of the rock.

Just

Just at this time a John McEwan, one of the privates in the grenadier company on board our vessel, was sentenced to receive 500 lashes, as a punishment for lifting his hand against a corporal Campbell, but by the pleasure of captain C——l, the commander of the troops, by whose orders the court martial was held; his punishment was mitigated, and the poor man received 350 at once, and the remaining 150 a fortnight after. This, the military captain considered an instance of lenity. Say now generous reader, for thy heart is not formed of adamant, what kind of lenity must this be, when every lash laid on by the trembling executioner, whose very heart revolted, causes the blood to start, or he must receive a lash on his own shoulder, for every lash he gives that fails to widen the streams that trickle down his back: this, the poor, honest, inoffensive object was doomed to bear; and this he did bear till he had borne the number inflicted on him by the decree of the court martial: when he had received these 350 (which he did, silent and uncomplaining, during the execution) his back——but I cannot describe it—it would be more easily conceived, and that but very imperfectly—suffice it to say, the most callous on board could not refrain from giving the fullest vent to their feeling, by exclaiming aloud, shame, shame, a d——d eternal shame!!!

Four drummers were stationed to perform this dreadful duty, which they did, alternately, with that reluctance which spake them sons of humanity, and whilst the one was engaged in cutting away the flesh, and shedding the blood of his brother in captivity, receiving, himself, almost as many lashes as he gave, the others stood by the side of the sufferer, filled with pity and confusion. This done
he

he was loosed, and not being able to stand, was carried by two soldiers into the 'tween decks, and put in a cradle where he laid till a fortnight had expired, when he was again fastened to the gun, and having received the remaining 150, he was carried down again, put into the cradle, and without speaking many words, but groaning out 24 hours, left his tortured mangled body to be committed to the deep. Captain C....., on hearing this, appeared no more concerned than if he had killed a mad dog, instead of a man. Till the vengeance of God overtake this miscreant, I leave him to his own reflections.

At this time another fatal accident happened. The wind having continued fair for some weeks, began to veer round to the opposite point. A heavy gale came on, and captain C..... ordered his cousin Joseph and myself to mount aloft and furl the top-gallant-sail preparatory to putting the ship about. Joseph went out to the lee yard arm, and I to the weather side. The ship being put in stays before the sail was half furled, the wind blew the body of the sail with great force flat against the Cross-trees—this shook the unfortunate lad off the yard, and he had now but a feeble grasp of the leech of the sail. Having gotten hold of the gasket he turned it twice or thrice round his arm—the ship now laboured much, and tossed him so high and so far from the yard-arm, that as his body tightened the gasket with a sudden jerk, he broke it, and fell into the water on the larboard side. The ship making great leeway, went over his body, and the next minute the ship's wake presented him in his last struggles to our view. The boatswain ran up the main shrouds in order to save him; but, had he attempted it, 'tis pro-

probable he would have shared the same melancholy fate.

When C..... saw his cousin off the yard, swinging by a rotten gasket, it was more than negligence, it was in my opinion unnatural obstinacy in him not to put the ship on the other tack, that the lee side becoming the weather side, the weight of the lads body might incline him towards the mast; in that case there was a probability of saving him; but this expedient, tho' warmly urged, he did not consent to try, saying in a tone of unconcern that would disgrace even a savage, "it would be losing time to attempt it." Instantly after the lad had fallen, C..... was desired to hoist the boat out for him, but this he also refused, and replied, that he was certain Joseph was dead before, or as soon as he fell.

Leaving for a while these bloody and unnatural scenes, I shall, with the ship, proceed on the voyage, performing my promise as I go on, by touching slightly on the principal occurrences my Journal and memory may help me to.

In the month of August 1781, the fleet began to draw near the Cape of Good Hope: the commodore, therefore, dispatched the Active Frigate, captain Mackenzie, to reconnoitre the situation of the Cape, as he strongly expected that the French squadron we engaged at St. Jago, knowing the object of our expedition, might have previously arrived in defence of that valuable place. Being now very near the intended port, we only waited the return of the Active: in two days she rejoined the fleet with a Dutch East Indiaman in tow, immensely rich. "A stratagem in war," says the adage, "is admissible." Captain Mackenzie, of the Active, who was
by

by no means inactive, or wanting in stratagem and manœuvre, conducted himself in so able a manner, that he captured this ship in a way that reflects the highest honour on his naval abilities.

When he went to the Cape, to inform himself whether M. de Sufferin had actually arrived there or not, he had the mortification to find it was so, and that the French admiral, whose masts and bowsprit were consigned to Neptune, at St. Jago, by the English, had the whole of her guns on shore, to strengthen the Dutch batteries. The *Active* falling in with some ships, hoisted a French ensign, and received information that at False Bay there lay at anchor this Dutch East India ship; and that at Saldanha Bay, were five homeward bound ships, heavy and richly laden: it being night, captain Mackenzie proceeded to False Bay, and found it as was represented to him by the unsuspecting Dutch. From the captain of this devoted ship, captain Mackenzie obtained every requisite information, with respect to the state of that ship, the situation of the French squadron, and the town of Table Bay. He then hauled down the French colours, hoisted the English, and bade him strike directly, or he would pour a broadside into his ship; the Dutchman instantly struck, was taken possession of by the *Active*, and brought into the fleet. On board the capture, was the governor of Batavia's daughter; a lady about 22 years of age, of great personal accomplishments, and an unbounded fortune. Captain Mackenzie, with the utmost courtesy, proposed to the lady an interview with the commodore, which was complied with, and being conveyed on board the *Romney*, the commodore with equal courtesy handed her into the cabin, and

and expressed such satisfaction in the acquisition of this most amiable female prisoner, that he actually condescended to thank the crew of the *Active* for what they had done.

The commodore having received intelligence, that we were defeated in our expectations of taking the town at Table Bay, owing to the French reinforcement, directed his views to Saldanha Bay, where, as captain Mackenzie had informed him, these Dutch homeward bound East India ships lay moored, with their yards and topmasts down. We now stretched in for the Bay, with top-gallant sails, royals, steering sails, sprit-sails, sprit-sail-top-sails, and every stitch of sail set; the ensigns and a vast number of signals flying from every part of the *Romney's* masts and rigging; and having a pleasant gale, the whole fleet paid the happiest attention to those signals — 'twas a sight truly picturesque, but it was such an one as highly offended the enemy; for the Dutch, as soon as they saw us at a distance, sailing majestically into the Bay, were so much incensed at the sight, that rather than surrender as prisoners to the English, they drove their ships on shore, and set them on fire. The English, however, coming to anchor with an activity which they uniformly display on these occasions, got four of them off the rocks, and completely afloat. They soon extinguished the flames, without any material damage happening either to masts or hulls. The crew of these Dutch ships, had previously deserted their floating habitations, and taking themselves to *terra firma*, fled in the utmost consternation into the country (and a delightful country it is) whilst the ship, *Middleburg*, which was incomparably

incomparably the largest and richest of them all, could not be gotten off the rocks, nor was it practicable to extinguish the fire.

The commodore having now made the Middleburg the chief object of his attack, took with him the boat's crew of the Romney, to get out such articles as the rapid flames had yet left salvable. On his approaching the ship in flames, his courage failed, and well it might. The streaks of fire that broke from the main body of the flame, loudly snapping like the report of bombs, incircling stem and stern, and cracking from the mast-tops, bid defiance to the most intrepid: at length one of the seamen in the commodore's boat, hearing lamentable groans, and being fully convinced they proceeded from the ship on fire, fearlessly rushed through the devouring flames, and throwing himself to that part of the ship from whence the piercing groans issued, he found two English gentlemen bound hand and foot to the ringbolts in the 'tween decks, where they must have perished the same hour, had not this undaunted sailor torn up the ringbolts with an iron crowe, which he very fortunately found on deck, here they effected their delivery by throwing themselves out of the port holes, and being afterwards taken up by the boat. The unfortunate deliverer, by coming out another way, had his right arm almost burnt off. At eight o'clock in the evening, the Middleburg blew up with an awful explosion; and the next morning we hoisted out our boat, as did every merchantmen in the bay, to pick up the chests of tea, bundles of nankeen, &c. that were strewed throughout the bay, which, when the ship blew up, were driven into the air, some falling on the rocks, and others on board the ships, and into the water. Having recovered two or three chests of tea, they were

opened, and found to contain the finest hyson, but the greater part was spoiled by the salt water; it was dried in the Sun, yet the unfavoury brackishness was not, nor could be, drawn from the leaf. Each of us who shared so largely in this plunder (for so it may be termed) was, therefore, under the mortifying necessity of casting overboard that, which, it was expected, would have been of some service to us.

The bay of Saldanha is admirably calculated by nature, utterly unaided by art, for the harbouring of ships, bound to and from the East Indies; and is an excellent covert against those dangerous tempests which in certain months blow with unremitting violence along this coast.

The Dutch, at this place, are particularly distinguished by their brutality towards prisoners of war. In proof of this, I shall only observe, that in one of their captured ships, they had brought the kings of Ternate and Tidore into distress, similar to that of the two English gentlemen.

Having rescued these two Asiatic monarchs, we departed from this bay, and the commodore, satisfied with his achievements, thought proper to depart for England, and as it then blew a heavy gale of wind, we hoisted the signal for captain Alms, of the Monmouth, to take upon him the command and protection of that part of the fleet, which he intended to dispatch to India, whilst he took with him for England, the undermentioned ships and vessels, viz.

Romney,	50 guns,	commodore Johnston,
Jupiter,	50 do.	Captain Pasley,
Diana,	28 do.	
Jafon,	32 do.	
Lark,	16 do.	cutter,

Terror

Terror Bomb,

Infernal fireship,

together with three victuallers, and the four Dutch prizes, and sent the rest, which was by far the greatest part of the fleet, to the East Indies. A most cruel and unwise measure, for the commodore must certainly have known, if he had bestowed a moment's reflection, that the old timbers of the transports could never stand the repeated attacks of the Monsoons, nor could the once frozen, but now parched and dying highlanders, who were inured to their native bleak winds, ever be able to support the pernicious change. The commodore, had he possessed sufficient humanity, might also have recollected, that the greater part of those who are sent to the coasts of Malabar or Coromandel, seldom, if ever, return to their native country—none of these considerations were to have due weight with him.

But waving this observation, I return to the convoy detached under the command of our deputed commander, Captain Alms. Soon as commodore Johnstone had parted from the most important part of his charge, we stretched directly for the East Indies, and the gale being much in our favour. the fleet on the next morning fetched the Table land. Happily for us it blew a heavy gale, and the sea run very high, otherwise M. De Sufferin (for we all sailed within sight of Table Bay) might have taken leave to come out and pay his respects to a few of us. Before night, all our scattered ships had weathered the Cape, and being now eastward of the Southern promontory of Africa, we came into the windy and dangerous latitudes. Now, in quick succession, we experienced those to evils which mariners are every moment exposed, and
which

which it is impossible for mortals who cannot foresee future contingencies to escape.

Two days after we had weathered the Cape of Good Hope, the wind, which before was favourable, though boisterous, now chopped round to the opposite point, and did not gradually, but instantaneously, come upon us, and that, in a way, that language, however strong, would be far too weak to set forth. Before these impetuous blasts, the masts of our ships were like broken reeds; the men of war were tossed on the tempestuous waves, like the driven chaff. This uncommon wind was attended by thundrings, the majestic voice of an angry deity, and at one awful moment the whole artillery of Heaven burst in tremendous peals from the dark clouded skies. To add to the terror of the scene sudden and repeated flashes of lightning, dazzled every eye with a horrible glare, and struck consternation into every breast. At this juncture, the heavy ships having become unmanageable, the *Osterley*, a large East India ship, ran foul of the *Three Sisters*, transport, Capt. Hudson, the stem of the former struck the latter on the larboard bow, and with infinite damage to the rigging and vessel, laid her for upwards of ten minutes on her broadside, crushed several of her men to death and broke the limbs of others in so shocking a manner that they were obliged to submit to amputation. The ship sprung a leak to such a degree, that it was expected she would instantly have foundered. But the long suffering preserver of Jonah averted their destruction; the two ships got disentangled, and the unhappy ship, *Three Sisters*, righted again. As she then made less water, we concluded, that the leak was above water streak. Had they continued

five minutes longer entangled, one or both must inevitably have gone to the bottom, with about six hundred souls.

The Content was at this time within a quarter of a mile of the two ships, whilst in this perilous situation. But all we could do, was to *look* and *lament*.

Thus we were driven about in the channel of Mosambique three days, and when the weather began to change, we had lost three ships of our company, which we never saw again, viz. the Raikes, armed ship, the Admiral Keppel, victualler, and the Myrtle, transport. The sea, notwithstanding the wind had died away, was as fatal to the surviving ships as the furious tempest; for the swell which the long-continued storm had occasioned, resembled towering hills, contrasted with deep vallies, and having no wind to drive us out of these latitudes, every swell that arose threw the heavy ships on their beam ends, and many, from the violent flapping of the sails against the masts, suffered irreparable damage in their rigging. Their sails were torn into small pieces; their masts crack'd; their sides and bottoms strain'd; and in short, a general pumping took place throughout the fleet, not excepting even the once staunch coppered ships. This and much more than I am able to describe, was the melancholy effect of the hurricane that overtook us as soon as we had got at the entrance of the Mosambique channel.

The following beautiful description of a STORM AT SEA, has frequently afforded me the most exquisite delight, I shall therefore present it to the reader without any apology.

Mare sub noctem tumidis albescere cæpit,
Fluctibus, & præceps spirare valentius eurus;
Aspera crescit hyems omnique a parte feroces.

Bella

Bella gerunt venti, fretaque indignantia miscent.
 Ipse pavet, nec se quis sit status ipse fatetur,
 Scire ratis rector, nec quid jubeatve vetetve :
 Tanta mali moles, totaque potentior arte est.
 Quippe sonant clamore viri, stridore rudentes ;
 Undarum incurfu gravis unda, tonitribus æther ;
 Fluctibus erigitur, cælumque æquare videtur,
 Pontus & inductas aspergine tangere nubes.
 Sæpe dat (navis) ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem,
 Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine ceræ,
 Rima patet, præbetque viam lethalibus undis,
 Ecce cadunt largi resolutis nubibus imbres,
 Inque fretum credas totum descendere cælum.
 Inque plagas cœli tumefactum ascendere pontum :
 Vela madent nimbis, et cum cœlestibus undis,
 Æquoreæ miscentur aquæ : caret ignibus æther,
 Cœcaque nox premitur tenebris hyemisque, suisque.
 Discutiunt tamen has, præbentque micantia lumen
 Fulmina; fulmineis ardescunt ignibus undæ.
 Deficit ars, animique cadunt, totidemque videntur
 Quot veniunt fluctus, ruere atque irrumperè mortes.
 Non tenet hic laurymas, stupet hic, vocatille beatos, &c.

In this plight our distressed fleet remained several days, when, by the assistance of a favourable current and a gentle breeze, the labouring ships now laboured less—the sea had fallen, and indeed the current had set us out of the reach of these mountainous waters. The captain now hoisted out the jolly boat, and went on board the Monmouth for information respecting the destination of the fleet, for we were not now to expect either to keep company with the fleet, or even one with another, (being in a more un-
settled

settled latitude, than we were on the other side of Africa.) The commodore informed captain C..... that he intended to proceed directly to Bombay, the East India Company's principal settlement, on the Coast of Malabar. The captain, on his return, informed the ship's company that he had received instructions to proceed with the fleet as long as the wind and weather might enable us, but in case we should be separated, to make Bombay the place of our rendezvous.

Just at this time an event took place, which afforded me no small satisfaction.

Having, one evening, as we were sailing for Bombay, a clear sky, and a gentle propitious gale, two or three of the seamen, with about half a dozen soldiers, sat ourselves around the galley, or fire place, when we alternately commenced the recital of some anecdote, tale, or fable, in order to add to the pleasure of the evening, and to keep off, as long as we could, the idea of those calamities, to which, in reality, all of us were momentarily exposed; among the company was one corporal Fraser, whose person and features brought to my recollection those of a Doctor C....., who was then, perhaps, not so many hundred miles from London, as we were. This striking resemblance I had often remarked; and as Doctor C.... .. was a gentleman that stood high in my esteem and affection, every time I saw the corporal, I beheld the doctor with the eye of my remembrance. I observed to one of my companions, that I had long perceived an extraordinary likeness between the persons of corporal Fraser, and a doctor C——, a gentleman, whom I had the pleasure of knowing personally in London. “He is,” replied the lad, (whose name was William Burch), “not unlike a gentleman that I knew

"in London, pray, who is it you mean?" When I had told him, he expressed much pleasure and surprise, saying, "truly, Silas, I always thought so from the moment I first saw the corporal." We then, having understood each other, retired to a distant part of the ship, where, after a short conversation, I asked him if he ever knew, or heard of a Mr. Silas Told. "Know him? Most assuredly I do," said he "I have good reasons to know him." I then asked his reasons, and he assigned many; one of which was, that he, (Mr. Told) had, in days that were past, and in happier days, been an active and successful promoter of his father's interest; and that Mr. Told and his father had been united in the bonds of sincere and indissoluble friendship upwards of twenty years. A firm and reciprocal friendship was, therefore, maintained between that lad and myself, from that day untill our arrival in England.

To return to the occurrences of the voyage. In the beginning of September, the fleet drew near the Comero islands, and, to our misfortunes, we drew near the ground tier of our water: to say that this was a dreadful case, is unnecessary. The weather now fell calm, and we all felt great anxiety and distress; the poor soldiers still dying* in as great numbers as at the commencement of the disease. The allowance for each private, for twenty four hours,

re is an expression neither unfrequently, nor improperly used on ship board, "Work and keep the scurvy out of your bones." Had these unfortu-

Britons verified this saying, by lending an active hand in assisting in times of danger, instead of betaking themselves to their hammocks, in the event of a squall, I do not hesitate to declare, that not one-tenth could have suffered by this disease; and here is my reason. Not one of them was subject to a temporary sickness during his life, and only one was subject to a temporary sickness during that proceeded from the head-ach.

was

was a purser's quart, or a Winchester pint, and that was so strong, and stank so much, that when the steward broached a cask, and applied the lighted candle to the bung-hole, it burnt blue like spirits: this was the Thames water. Here we were in a most distressing dilemma; every expedient to obtain fresh water failed; sailors and soldiers equally experienced the ill-effects of this misfortune; but soon after, a fresh and favorable gale sprang up, which, in less than forty-eight hours, wafted the fleet to the island of Joanna, situated at the N. E. end of the great island Madagascar, and in lat. 12.00 S. and longitude 44.25 East.

On this island, close to the shore, is a very large town, with a high steeped church; the town is nearly as large as that at Table Bay, though the houses are far inferior in point of strength and beauty; and as to the religion of the natives, even the best read men in the fleet were unable to decide: yet it was conjectured they were Pagans. Let their religion, however, be what it might, if the conduct of the people were the fruit of their religion, it certainly was a good one, for they are as peaceable and harmless a set of people, as I ever saw on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope. They are tall, and well limbed, very black, but, nevertheless, very handsome; for they have not the flat nose, and thick lip which distinguishes the Caffrarian negro from all the other blacks in the World; nor have they a head of wool instead of hair, but their hair is long and comely, which gives them a majestic appearance, especially when they are armed with their long lances, which they carry on their shoulders, as our soldiers do their musquets.

Very near the town we landed all our sick, which

amounted to near one hundred ; here every accommodation was prepared for the poor creatures : the tropical fruit was brought down from the mountains in great abundance. These fruits consisted of yams, sweet potatoes, honey, bananas, plaintains, citrons, lemons, cocoa nuts, tamarinds, sugar, and sugar-cane. Their animal food consisted of buffaloes, sheep, goats, and pigs.— They have also excellent fish and very good fowl. Of all these things, the sick Europeans became partakers; but they being destitute of a medical friend to prescribe, as to quantity and quality, that might be suitable to the several habits and constitutions of these afflicted subjects of King George, they, unfortunately, made so improper a use of these sweet productions of the island, that they soon exchanged the scurvy for the bloody flux; the latter produced a greater mortality than the former; for it swept off more in two months than the scurvy had done during the passage hitherto. They also, notwithstanding the seemingly desirable accommodations provided on their disembarkation, had now to encounter unforeseen and multiplied distresses. Here these sons of affliction were laid under the shelter of an old topsail, with each an old rug under him, on swampish ground, infested by reptiles, and insects of various kinds, such as scorpions, bloodsuckers,* tarantali, &c. &c. These troublesome creatures, though not seen in the day, were sensibly felt at night.

* The Bloodsucker is shaped not unlike the Alligator ; it is about four-times as large as the Lizard ; it hops from tree to tree, and with a deceitfulness equal to the Crocodile, whilst it seems to arrest the attention of its hearers by its plaintive cries, it jumps and fastens on the throat of the unwary spectator. I stood, one day, upwards of five minutes to behold this noxious creature, and I beheld it with fear. It's form brought to my recollection that act of disobedience, which brought sin into the World, and all it's woes.

The condition in which the sick lay, exhibited the most shocking spectacle that ever eye beheld. It appeared literally speaking, like a lazaret house, "Wherein are laid numbers of all diseased." The next lines of Milton are by far too strong to represent the situation of our fellow mortals during their lingering state, in these abodes of pain and misery; yet I am thoroughly convinced that the pangs they endured were so poignant, that though death delayed to strike, yet the greater part of them earnestly looked for their dissolution, and invoked the King of Terrors with hands and eyes that spake him their chief good, and ultimate hope.

Finding this island to have a most fatal effect on the health and constitution of the soldiery, we speedily got those whose lives were spared, on board, and after having victualled and watered the fleet, the signal for our departure was thrown out from the commodore. But before we sailed, prompted by curiosity, I went to the summit of one of the high peaked mountains, and when I had gained the top, I was exceedingly alarmed. Looking towards the sea, and into the Bay, the heavy ships appeared to me like small fishing smacks, but when I turned mine eyes to the land, fresh scenes of wonder in regular succession presented themselves to my view. Here, "stupendous chains
" of rocky mountains broken into frightful precipices or hideous caverns," or "mountains heaped on mountains, " seeming to prop the high arch of Heaven," formed the interior of this island, whilst I stood all the while on the edge of a most dreadful precipice, lost in astonishment how I came there; it was so narrow, and withall so high and perpendicular, and subjected me to such danger, that the gentlest puff of wind might have thrown me from the
rocky

rocky pinnacle into an abyfs that had never been explored by the natives themselves. From the top of this craggy cliff, I descended, but how (my senses being nearly lost in the wildness of the scene), I cannot tell, but when I recovered myself, so far as to know that I was at the bottom of this awful mountain, I saw all the ships preparing to weigh anchor, and just as I had reached the ship, our anchor was tripped, and we made directly for sea; but not before we had committed to the dust, the bodies of thirty of the most valuable men that were sent sick on shore for refreshment.

Three weeks were hardly elapsed, since our departure from Joanna, before the fleet crossed the equinoctial line, the second time; and here, among the sailors it is a practice (not generally known, or it would be generally reprobated) to demand of those persons who had never crossed it before, a bottle of rum, or wine, and in case of refusal, the person so refusing must be ducked at the yard-arm. The sturdy seamen now took the advantage of custom, and obtained from the military officers a bottle of rum each.

The poor lads on board being unable, and the miserable captain unwilling that they should each give to the men a bottle of rum, were called on to make the accustomed satisfaction. A rope was, for that infamous purpose, reeved through the cross-jack yard-arm, and each lad lashed to a hand-spike, was let down by this rope into the sea, whilst the ship was going six knots or six miles an hour; nor was either of the lads hauled up till he could make the capricious gentry on deck sensible that he saw the rudder rings. One of the lads was let down with so much force, and gulped so great a quantity of salt water,

water, that he had not power to tell those on board that he saw the rudder-rings, and he was therefore kept longer under water. When wound up out of the water, his life was doubtful, and it was a long time before he could be recovered. This irrational amusement was practised on the Sabbath day.

The fleet having now been nine months from England, the wooden-bottomed ships began to be very foul; their bottoms being covered with sea weeds and barnacles, much impeded our progress, so that the transports and victuallers could not keep up with the fleet. Hereupon the commodore made the signal to take the *Content* in tow, which, as the sea ran very high, was effected with infinite toil and difficulty, and whilst we were thus in tow by this noble ship, we were enabled to keep better company, but having, by an adverse wind and a strong current; been driven very far from our course to the N. W. and having had three successive clouded and thick meridians, which prevented our taking an observation during that time, to our utter astonishment, we found ourselves, on the fourth dull day, not more than five miles distant from the continent of Arabia. The commodore and the whole fleet now attempted to beat to windward, but in fact, we could do nothing but beat the wind; for the way we made on each tack, we were certain to lose every time we wore ship, and it was impracticable to put the ships about, being in tow by the men of war. In this very unpleasant way of standing off and on, we remained a fortnight, *losing*, instead of *gaining* the windward of the Arabian coast, and expending the small quantity of provisions we then had on board. At last, our commander, despairing of beating to windward successfully with every ship in the fleet, whilst
wind

wind and current were so powerfully against us, threw out the signal for all the men of war to cast off the ropes from the vessels they severally had in tow; to disembark the troops from on board them, put them on board the East India ships, and send the merchant vessels adrift, that they might make the best of their way to the nearest port, or bay, they could reach. We lay too for this purpose, two whole days, and sent away with the troops every cask of water, except two, that we had on board. What a situation were we again brought into! Cast a drift and *permitted* to proceed to the first rude and barbarous shore we could reach. As soon as the tow-rope was cast off, the *Content*, unaccompanied by any other ship of the fleet, drifted down the coast of Arabia; whilst all the other lagging merchantmen still continued beating to windward, striving to weather the point of land, and get to Bombay. Next morning, being quite out of sight of the fleet, we sailed in for the shore, and having the wind, which before was against us, now in our favor, we scudded down the coast untill we made cape Fortuack, in the straits of Babelmandel; our case was now deplorable: it called for an exercise of skill and of patience. After pondering some time on the best measures to be adopted for the safety of ship and men, and to prevent our falling into the hands, not of the French, Spaniards, or Dutch, with whom we were then at war, but of the Arabs, who might be as dangerous as our European foes, it was at last agreed that we should navigate our vessel to the city of Mocha, the capital of Arabia Felix.

Sailing along the coast with a fair gale, we all expected to reach Mocha in about three days, but the wind shifting to the opposite point of the compass, we were unhappily

pily taken aback, and put to the necessity of bringing to anchor, in Haswell roads, where we waited a change of wind full three days, and did just nothing but eat our morsel, and drink the last water we had on board; finding it useless to attempt to land, we weighed anchor again, and the wind being rather favorable, set every sail we could, and proceeded towards the place of our destination. The same day, having proceeded near forty miles farther, it fell calm, and we were obliged to bring to an anchor in Kessent bay, otherwise called the Asses Ears, about fifty miles S. E. of Mocha; and for aught I know, in the same latitude, where the Memphian king, and all his host,

“ At once lie buried in the Arabian deep.” *

Having made all clear for receiving on board fresh provisions and water, we hoisted out the boat and sent her towards the shore, with the mate and a few sailors; the mate took with him some rummer glasses, in order to barter with the natives for some of their commodities, but on approaching the shore, we found it impossible to land, by reason of a tremendous surf that ran upon the beach. The natives, who were as thick as the sand on the shore, seemed to express, by their motions, a desire that we would permit them to come into our boat; they instantly took french leave, and plunging themselves into the water, swam through the surf to come to the boat. When four of these

G

blacks

* It would be difficult to ascertain the exact spot where this miracle, recorded in the pentateuch, took place, there being but few cities, or towns on the coast of Egypt that are now known by their ancient names. Pihahiroth and Baal Zephon, where the Israelites encamped, previous to their terraqueous passage to Canaan (now Arabia) must, in my humble opinion, lie on the coast of Habesh, or in the kingdom of Nubia.

blacks had gained the boat, they conducted themselves with uncommon incivility, and one of them having cast his thievish eyes on the mate's glaffes, thought proper to take one of them to look at, and being somewhat of a curiosity he fixed his affections thereon and put it into his cloutee. The senior of these fellows, on complaint being made to him by the mate, under the specious pretence of punishment, threw him, who stole the rummer, into the sea, but took care to throw the glass with him, for he would not give the thief time to return it to it's owner.

After this, (not yet having received any provisions or water on board), two or three of these Arabs came in their canoes to the ship's side, and began to inform us, by their gestures, that they had a desire to traffic with us. They then came on board, and, after some time, the captain agreed to give one of them a guinea for an ox. The chapman received the purchase money, and made strong promises that the animal should be brought on board directly. They now only waited an opportunity to slip off, and the bell striking twelve furnished them with one, for when they heard it, they all jumped off the gang-way, and made for the shore; the boat, with six hands in it was dispatched after them, and happened to overtake him who had received the guinea; being brought on board he pointed to the bell, and being almost in a delirium with fear, the man wished us to understand, that at the report of it, he and his companions were so struck, never having heard such a thing before, that they were irresistably hurried off the gangway into the water; this we inferred from their silent but expressive motions. The captain, however, got the ox for his guinea, according to agreement.

Fresh

Fresh provisions being very scarce at this place, the captain caused the flat bottomed boat, from which no service could be derived, to be hoisted from between the main and mizen-mast, and stowed on the forecastle, and to make every thing ready and clear for sailing away from Arabia, and to proceed to Europe; but as it would have been extremely unadvisable in the captain to have quitted this place without a supply of water, if it could by any means be procured, we tarried a little longer, and made an attempt to get some, determined to run all risks rather than perish for want of it. For this purpose several casks were landed, and rolled three miles and upwards inland, to get them filled. When we had reached the watering place, we found but one well, and that so deep, and the water so low and muddy, that we were ten hours in getting one cask filled with that which was tolerably pure; for this the natives demanded a dollar, besides exacting enormous harbour-dues for the ship's anchorage in the bay. We continued a fortnight getting water, during which, we filled about a dozen butts, which was more than a butt per man, having only ten men and boys on board. With this quantity it was judged convenient to proceed towards Europe, though we had little, or no hope of ever seeing England; and it was altogether marvellous that no harm befel us while we were getting our water on board, exposed to the mercy of these creatures, who, as they are remarkably expert at the lance, being from their infancy

“Trained to assault, and disciplined to kill,”

might, very probably, not let us pass with a whole skin, or without stripping even the shirts off our backs.

Situated as we then were, the captain, from the flattering idea of our soon reaching the island of Socotora, of

Cape Guardafui on his return to England, where, if needful, we might more advantageously get a fresh supply of provisions and water, ordered the topails to be loosed, and the anchor to be weighed, when four vessels hove in sight to the windward, coming down rapidly before the wind, with top-gallant-fails, steering-fails, royals and sky scrapers set. These ships being then very far to windward, we could not tell whether they were some of our own fleet or the enemy. They soon bore down very near us, so that had they proved the latter, it would have been impossible to escape them. Hereupon, the captain, from an apprehension that it was the enemy, and that he would certainly be plundered of his money, as well as of the ship and her stores, hit on a means to preserve it, and for that purpose he lodged his gold and silver distributively among the common sailors, so that if the enemy should push their advantages, the men might plead it to be their own property; the captains, or rather the owner's money would, probably, in that case, be sacred.

The ships had now come very near us, and as I was the first who more minutely examined them when they were thus advanced, I gave my opinion that they were the four East India ships, on board which, our troops were removed, at the time we were cast adrift from the fleet; the carpenter thwarted my observation, and said it was impossible, such ships as those being capable of weathering the land, if our dungbarge could not. When they had come to anchor in the bay, they proved the four identical ships. Captain Patrick Lawson, who was the senior captain, commanded this detached squadron of India ships, who having come on board the Content, informed us that the men of war, and some other ships, did, after a long time

time and much difficulty, beat to windward of the coast, and had proceeded to Bombay; whilst these four India ships, under his command, having tacked and tacked about without success, found themselves (by losing the fleet) under the necessity of bearing down the coast, as we had done before them.

This event completely frustrated our intentions, as we were prevailed on by captain Lawson to accompany these four ships until the monsoons might be over, which was expected to be in about a month's time, when, as captain Lawson observed, we might all proceed to Bombay together. This was agreed to, and we instantly struck yards and top-masts, and made our ships in every respect, adapted for the season.

Notwithstanding the knavery of the Arabs, we all found it impossible to avoid dealing with them; and the captain was one properly calculated to drive a bargain with them. Sheep and goats, fish and fowl, palms or dates, milk and honey, being at this place not very dear, the captain purchased a large stock of provisions, with a design to carry them to Bombay, as they are very scarce in some parts of India. The lads on board, ignorant of the quality and of the quantity of provender suitable for this different live stock, fed the poultry with that which should have been given to the sheep and goats, and vice versa, and this they gave in quantities either too much or too little; the consequence was, two-thirds of the sheep and goats died; and if we had not been quick in using them, the whole would have shared the same fate.

With ceaseless toil and hardship were we (I mean the unhappy lads,) exercised during our abode at this place; part of our employment consisted in greasing the masts,
tarring

tarring the rigging, &c. &c. and part consisted in conveying the captain (who fell sick and almost lost his life in Arabia) from the ship to the shore, every day; on shore he had a small tent erected for his own convenience, where he continued a long time: this was recommended by the surgeon of the *Locko*, as the salubrious produce of the land was no sooner called for than obtained. He was, nevertheless, grievously annoyed during his residence on shore, by the intolerable smell of the camels, which grazed continually near the tent, and which, it was at his peril to drive away; this, it was supposed, protracted the return of his health, and he was in consequence removed on board the ship again, taking with him every thing that belonged to him, except his once moderate though subtle temper, which to our lamentation, the wild Arabs and their stinking camels had robbed him of, instead, therefore, of profiting by his bodily infirmities, which were truly complicated and chronical, and instead of having his naughty soul refined in this furnace of bodily affliction, the effect was just the reverse, and though he was reduced to a mere skeleton in consequence of the bloody flux, yet he seemed to enjoy a pleasure in inventing means to embitter the lives of the lads; as if we had not troubles enough to combat with. Yes, truly we had enough to combat with; but our lot was now particular, from the caprice and unprovoked cruelty this man evinced in his conduct towards every lad on board. Frequently did this lump of adamant, as soon as he had daily finished his bolus, send for his brother, the second mate, to summon all the lads from their work into the cabin, that he might seek a pretence against them; and he was always sure to find one, if, in the midst of a greasy dirty employment, we had not a clean pair of trowsers, or
a clean

a clean shirt to appear in, each lad was lashed to a gun, and from the hand of his fellow sufferer, each received a dozen lashes. Thus the arbitrary punishment went round, and in this manner we all experienced it untill we arrived almost at Bombay; mean while I was doomed to suffer the great weight of his barbarous treatment, though, I think, from a consideration of the services I rendered him with my pen, I ought to have borne no more than my share; and as this was inflicted on me without any demerit on my part, I considered myself most unjustly and shamefully treated. When I returned to my drudgery up in the main-top, looking forward to the stripes that awaited me, and the rest of my fellow sufferers, the most consummate anguish filled my heart, and my soul seemed to dissolve away. Pleasant breezes, and warm, from off the land, breathed fragrance into my nostrils, yet not "Arabia sacrificed, and all her spicy mountains in a flame," nor any thing in this world besides, would have been sufficient to administer any relief to my wounded spirit.

The thought that these calamities would continue but for a season, afforded me a little relief, and enabled me to bear them with some degree of patience and fortitude, especially as the time had arrived, when the five ships being in perfect readiness, we were on the eve of sailing for Bombay, which was, to speak literally, "The Haven where we would be." But before I take my leave of Arabia Felix, I beg leave to take a little notice of the fish in the Red Sea. This will lead me to a few remarks on the cunning of the captain in his dirty plans, respecting our diet at this place.

First

First, with reference to the nature of the fish in the Red Sea. These are some of the most curious prodigies of nature. Hardly is the line thrown overboard, properly hooked and baited, but they catch hold of the bait, and when they are hooked, (for they are so voracious, that as soon as they bite they are hooked), they have, instinctively, independently of the strength of their teeth, a very sagacious way of gnawing the hook, and this they not unfrequently do with effect. I very well remember, whilst our ship was at anchor in Hafwell Roads, one of the most fearless and intrepid seamen we had on board, happened to be one day fishing, when he drew up one of these fish. Soon as he had brought it to the surface, his courage was damped, and he let go the line; another man then laid hold of it and drew the prodigy on board. The shape of the creature was frightful; its eyes were not unlike those of a cat, and its head, though similar to a cat's head, was twice as big; it appeared more mischievous and venomous than a mad cat; and bit the hook, which was not a small one, into several pieces. After its head was taken off, and its body divided into many parts, life still remained in every particle, but we were recommended not to eat it, and therefore threw it overboard.

At this time, and in this bay, a rather surprizing circumstance happened in the catastrophe of a surprizing whale. This wonderful fish rushed into the bay with the flood, and began to blow the water into a foaming surf. The monster rolled from one side to the other, and on the flood going out, it lost its way, and being settled amidst the shoals, pitched itself into a hollow part of a rock, where, being jammed,
it

it could not extricate itself. Hereupon the boatswain and several of us went into the boat and attacked the creature towards the tail. After a little while it was killed, and being hauled on shore, was cut up and sent on board; it was boiled to oil, and the blubber filled seven casks. The boatswain, who had long been in the Greenland service, cut off a piece of the blubber, and chewed it with as much pleasure as if it had been a quid of tobacco. It was supposed that this Whale was the first that ever came into this latitude, or at least into this bay, for when it was perceived by the natives sporting about, and lashing with its enormous tail, the foaming brine, thousands, I may venture to say assembled on the beach to view this phenomena.

With respect to our diet at this place, I shall drop a few words on the serpentine cunning of the captain. The boys he daily set to the employment of catching fish, there being plenty in the bay, and those so easily caught, that, as I said before, it was only to cast the hook and bait overboard and they were instantaneously taken. This we continued to do, 'till we had caught, daily, a sufficient quantity to dine the ship's crew, and upon what we caught we were obliged to fare every day. Being nearly destitute of bread, our dinner usually consisted of fish, and fish to it; and though the captain was possessed of every ingredient for boiled fish, yet neither soy, butter, pepper nor any thing else were ever brought outside the cabin doors, during the time we were treated with this fresh provision, which was full six weeks, without any change; so that day after day, when the bell called all hands to dinner, all mouths were presented with, and constrained, through

H

extreme

extreme hunger, to partake of full platters of fish, just fresh from the Red Sea.†

All this time, our worthless captain was lining his pockets at the expence of the poor hard-working men and flaving boys; and his avarice led him to the most guilty practices. Having been myself in the habit of keeping his books as occasion required, I found that he had out-run his craft, and was surprized that he should suffer me to look into them, when he knew that he had not kept nor meant to keep, himself within the bounds of honesty. Here I detected him in charging the owner with the expenditure of salt provisions, when not an individual before the mast knew the taste of beef or pork during our abode at this place, which was full two months. Thus much I have mentioned merely to shew what a man will do to compass his lucrative desires.

This part of Arabia is the identical land where the Israelites and their leaders encamped after their emancipation from Egyptian bondage. Egypt then lay on our larboard quarter. How different the *modern* from *ancient* Arabia, when it was a land flowing with milk and honey; a land typical of Heaven. As no Jews where to be found upon this land, I conjecture that the Arabs have completely exterminated them from their country.

In the month of February, 1782, the ship having undergone a thorough repair, we put to sea with the four East India ships, in order to proceed to Bombay. During the land breeze, which always prevails here in the

† There are many epicures who would, with proper ingredients, prefer this fish to the turbot.

night, we kept company with them, but in the morning when the sea gales arose, the unfortunate Content was soon run out of sight again, and we were left to ourselves once more. Here was another occasion for general and serious consultation in regard to our safety. The chief mate observed that it would be the most politic measure we could take, to steer directly for Bombay, be the consequences what they might. It was agreed that we should proceed thither; and now we were all diligent and attentive to catch the favorable gales, by setting every sail the ship could possibly bear. In the course of our working up the coast, tacking and tacking about, which we were obliged to do from the versatility of the wind, we discovered, early one morning, a sail close in shore, which proved to be not only an English ship, and one of the fleet that came out with us, but, to our great satisfaction, she proved to be the Three Sisters, captain Hudson, in the same service with the Content, that sailed from England with commodore Johnston; the Myrtle lost the fleet in the dreadful hurricane off the coast of Mosambique; and the Eagle weathered the Arabian coast, without at first bearing away as we had done, and what was still more remarkable all the four transports were colliers, but the Content was the oldest, and consequently most decayed in her bottom, her decks, her timbers and her sides.

It was now agreed on by both captains to put into the bay of Morbat, and accompany each other, whilst the Three Sisters went through a total repair in her hull and rigging. The Content having been at Kessein Bay, totally refitted, required little or nothing at this place; therefore we only tarried, out of favor to the captain of the Three

Sisters, until that ship was made tight and substantial, and in every point of view calculated for the prosecution of her voyage to Bombay. During this intermediate space, and particularly on the sabbath days, the captain, from the affection he had for all of us; and out of a desire (as he would wish us to believe,) that we might not catch the scurvy through want of exercise, set us to that most cruel and laborious task of clearing the hawse and fresh mooring the ship; that is, when the ship is riding with two anchors a head, and upon the wind's shifting, she veers round the wrong way; the two cables in that case get two, three, or more turns round each other: this is what is termed a foul hawse. When the hawse becomes thus foul, the necessity that it should be cleared, I confess, becomes indispensable, but not that it should be performed in contemptuous violation of the sabbath; this, nevertheless, was what that impious monster caused to be done every Sunday, and in which he took, apparently much pleasure.

Our sister vessel being repaired, we sailed for Hindostan, and after an almost infinity of troubles, at last weathered the point we first saw when with the fleet, before we bore away for the straits of Babelmandel.

Just after we had left Arabia, we had a stiff favorable gale, and the ship, in consequence of the same north-west current which set us towards Arabia, was now driven near the coast of Persia. Passing by the mouth of the Persian gulph, we were overtaken by a violent gale of wind, which lengthened our intended passage, by driving us as far to leeward as the Guzurat country. In this boisterous gale we lost the company of the Three Sisters, and in the night very nigh lost ourselves, the ship being pooped by the mountainous

mountainous waves several times. Clouds of darkness, raging winds and rain, overwhelmed the horizon, and left us almost in despair of seeing the dawn of another day.— Had we gone on the rocks, not an atom of either ship or men would have been seen the next morning. No sight could possibly be more hideous than the craggy rocks that lay on our lee-beam. They appeared black as the shades of hell, and the spouting fury of the contrasted waters, which, with a roaring surf, dashed half way up these lofty and horrid pyramids of nature, pictured to our eyes instant destruction. Scenes like these may amuse our imagination, when in a peaceful apartment we see them beautifully portrayed by some great master of the pencil, but to be in the midst of them is inexpressibly dreadful. At meridian the next day, the cloud-dispelling beams of the sun helped us to find ourselves, and by the mate's solar observation, it appeared that the ship was on the Guzurat shores, but that we were not so distant from the coast of Malabar as we all feared. A gentle zephyr now succeeded the storm, and the thoughts of drawing near the island of Bombay wonderfully exhilarated all our languid spirits, and filled each countenance with satisfaction. Even the captain and mate at this time, impelled by the good temper of all on board, and from the consideration of being near Bombay, began to be cheerful and facetious, and I in particular was chosen the object of their mirth. This I account for from the following circumstance: In the course of this outward passage I had frequently observed to the Sailors, that my father was, and that then he certainly must be at Bombay*, and

* It may also be necessary here to remark, that I was not without some slight expectation of meeting with my father in some part of India, having heard it

and that I certainly was going to see him, let them say and think what they pleased. This I only said by way of pleasantry, as it was not reasonable that I should speak it from any certainty, when the instructions were sealed, and not an individual knew to which part of the world the ship was bound, prior to the captain's going on board the commodore's ship for instructions, when we were in the Mosambique channel, (see bottom of page 39). By reason of this they called me, and I was known by the name of Bombay. After a short while I gave them to understand that the ship in which my father went thither, was twelve months and thirteen days performing her passage, and two or three of the seamen entered into an agreement with me, the purport of which was, that if our ship should arrive at Bombay on this side that period, I should receive from one man, a laced hat, from another, a pair of Nankeen trousers, from a third, a pair of handsome silver buckles, from a fourth, a pair of good corderoy breeches, all freely and gratuitously; but if the ship, (to say nothing of the wind and weather, be it fair or foul, favorable or adverse), should not arrive at Bombay before twelve months and thirteen days were elapsed, in that case, I must submit to be plentifully ducked from the yard-arm, for my false prophecies. Although I well knew what a ducking meant, yet, big with the hope of be-fooling these whimsical, though good-tempered fellows, I cheerfully gave my consent.—We were now about three days sail from Bombay, and we

It mentioned, when I was in the Blue Coat School, that he had entered into the Company's service, and was gone to some of their settlements, either on the coast of Malabar, of Coromandel, or in the Bay of Bengal.

had

had been from England a twelvemonth and seven days, so that I had six days good, with the uncertainty of wind and weather for three days failing. The wind, to my great uneasiness now died away. A clock calm succeeded, and continued so for 36 hours, and although I looked round the horizon full twenty times in anxious expectation of descrying on the surface of the water some symptoms of a rising gale, yet none could I discover. The 13th day, after the twelvemonth being now arrived, and the ship not having made the land, I was called upon to be ducked, according to my promise, but begged they would indulge me by postponing the execution of their intentions until the evening, and then I would undergo this immersion if we saw not the land. I then went down to my hammock, and slept till twelve o'clock, when the watch being called, I came upon deck, and went to the foretop-sail yard to look out for land, but as it was as cloudy as in the morning, I could see none. About half an hour after this the clouds in the S. E. quarter began to disperse, and I saw from the foretop-sail yard-arm, what I had so long panted after. A breeze sprung up and freshened, which sent the ship between seven and eight miles an hour, and at eight o'clock the same evening, we passed the fishing stakes, and brought the ship to an anchor, in fifteen fathoms water, outside the harbour, opposite the church *.

My point being gained, I received the respective presents that were promised me by the men, and went on shore

* The singularity of this circumstance may seem to deserve but little credit. Mystery here comes upon mystery, but the testimony of my own conscience emboldens me to affirm, that the truth of this event was one of my leading motives to pen these pages. *Vincit omnia veritas.*

without being ducked. Previous to my landing, however, a pilot came on board to pilot the ship nearer the bunder pier, of whom I enquired if my father was on that island; but he, instead of completing my wishes, told me that in his opinion, a Mr. James James was some time ago removed either to Tellissherry, Callicut or Anjengo, down to the southward, on the coast of Malabar. This damped my spirits, and I went on shore to the blacksmith's with the soldier's coppers, quite dispirited and unhappy. The cabin boy and myself carried the weighty coppers slung on a hand-spike, which each sustained on our naked shoulders; added to this, the miserable condition we were in, through want of clothes, each having only a ragged checked shirt and worse trowsers, without either shoes or stockings to our feet, the clothes I received from my messmates being reserved 'till sunday. In this plight we both trudged along the town, and being unaccustomed to walk in streets strewn with gravel and sharp pointed stones, with between two and three hundred weight of metal on our naked shoulders, bare-footed, and under the scorching beams of the Sun, which was at this time, in this latitude, warmer than I ever experienced it before; I must declare that the task was as grievous as unexpected after a long and tedious passage of twelve months and thirteen days; but this was not to continue, for as we proceeded a little farther, we came up to a body of European soldiers who were on exercise, and upon asking the corporal, whose name was O'Brien, if he knew a Mr. James James on the island, he answered me in the affirmative, and added that since he had been in the country, (which was then about two years), he had been promoted to the rank of barrack-master, town major's clerk, and tutor to the children

dren of many senior merchants on the island. Proceeding farther, I met an officer whom I accosted in the same manner, who replied that there was on the island a Mr. James James, and that he was an ensign in the Bombay establishment. These clashing reports induced me to doubt whether my father was on the island or not, as I was then sensible that he could not have received a commission from Europe in the short space of time he had been in the country.

O'Brien, whom I first consulted, having left his soldiers and betaken himself to the King's barracks, informed the barrack-master that two young sailors enquired for him, or one of his name, and that one of them called himself Silas James. Hereupon the barrack-master left his business, and came to look after me. I seeing him first at a distance desired the cabin boy to turn back, telling him that I saw my father at a small distance, and did not wish to see him until I had gone on board and changed my clothing, being at that time in a very deplorable garb; the cabin boy murmured, and for some time would proceed towards the blacksmith's, telling me what an arrant fool I was to suppose I saw my father—Your father, added the fellow, is dead and d——d before now (an expression shamefully peculiar to these baptized brutes); I then told him, that if he persisted to follow his course, I would throw the coppers off my shoulders, and he should take them to the blacksmith's himself. He then turned round, and we took another course; whilst we were returning, I found myself impelled to look back to find what path my father had taken, and behold he was close behind me! He recognized my person at the distance I first saw him; we were both wonderfully altered, particularly in our dress; he
I being

being clad with the "gaudy tokens of our shame" and I having on the "ragged badges of our fall."

My father, struck with sympathy and astonishment at this extraordinary event, asked me very earnestly how, and from what cause I came into that quarter of the world. Surely, said my thunderstruck parent, you have not run away from the Blue-Coat School; having in some degree alleviated his sensations, by assuring him that I had not deserted the school, but had been regularly discharged, I entered into a detail of those circumstances that were the cause of my taking that voyage, with which account he appeared fully satisfied. Like the necessitous brethren of Joseph, in their first interview with him, I could have fallen prostrate on the earth; whilst my father discovered, for the moment, a seeming distance, but soon afterwards, when he came on board the *Content*, and viewed the condition I was in, with respect to my dormitory, the latent sparks of paternal affection were kindled, and he could not refrain from tears. He then asked me if I could reconcile myself to a situation on shore rather than continue on board, murdering my time and strength, and losing as fast as possible, the little education I had received. I doubtless, answered him in the affirmative.

My father went down into the cabin to dine with the chief mate, whose name was William James, and I was called to eat with my suffering comrades. After dinner, my father obtained permission to take me on shore with him, and when we had arrived at his apartments he pictured to me the innumerable advantages I should necessarily enjoy in a birth on shore, and after acquainting me with the result of his own counsel, he got me employment, as a writer to Dr. Cruso, the principal surgeon

surgeon on the island. Ten months I lived the life of a prince, for, not merely by permission, but at the request of my kind employer, I was, at the close of business, which was usually about five o'clock in the afternoon, conveyed every day from one part of the island to another in the doctor's own Palanquin, borne by four labouring blacks, called Coolies, with a Massaljee running with lighted flambeaux before my Indian carriage; with this equipage, which, on my part, were equally unmerited and unexpected, but with which, in compliment to my father, the doctor caused me to be attended. I remained near a twelve month, subject to no personal controul, but at the same time subject to the fear of being one day informed of, apprehended, and taken on board our distressing floating goal once more, at the thought of which, my very soul sickened.

In the course of my services with the doctor, my father and self, were one day invited to dine with an officer of distinction. We spent the afternoon with this military gentleman; and my father, with his friend, drank too freely of the arrack and Persian brandy, which liquors operate as powerfully, though not so instantaneously, as a similar quantity of rum or brandy. For my part, not being used to Indian Viands, for we dined off of fish and fowl curry, plentifully supplied with burning chillies, my palate and my food were not agreed: I therefore ate but very little, and nauseating their spirits, I drank less.

After dinner, the officer proposed to my father, to take a pleasant walk to Suree, a village situate at the N. E. part of the island, but as they both seemed to enjoy their bottle, it was five o'clock before we walked. At six in the evening we reached, in our way to Suree, a mount call

Mount Sion, about three miles from the house where we dined. The English gave it this name, it being most beautifully formed by nature, covered with verdure, and strewed with flowers and shrubberies, the top of which opens to the ravished sight, a beautiful and extensive prospect of the islands Salsette and Elephanta, with part of the Mahratta country. It is not improbable, that the person who gave this name to the mount, caught with the beauty of its situation, his mind might have been drawn to a contemplative view of the celestial Mount Sion, but be that as it may, I know one, who, whilst admiring the ineffable prospect, that the summit of this mount afforded him,

“Straight tow’ard heaven his wond’ring eyes he turn’d,

“And gaz’d awhile the ample sky.”

To heighten the pleasantness of the scene, the weather being serene and clear, I viewed to the westward more than twenty sail of ships in the offing, with all their sails set, making in for the harbour; this proved to be the fleet of Sir Richard Bickerton, convoying fifteen sail of East India ships from England, the arrival of which had been long looked for with great anxiety by the European inhabitants of Bombay; and in addition to this, having escaped the drudgery and cruelty to which I was a perpetual slave on board the ship, my mind enjoyed the serenity of the day, and I shared that satisfaction and delight which exceeded all description.

My father, as I hinted before, being too fond of that destructive species of spirits, which was like rank poison to my constitution, as well as disagreeable to my palate, now experienced a little of it's ill effects. This inclined him to lay himself down under a cocoa-nut tree, close to the

the water side, where he slept 'till dusk; whilst he lay asleep, I turned my eyes up the harbour, and perceiving a ship coming to anchor about five miles off, with her sails loose; I was struck with an idea that it was the Content. My fears, in this respect increased, when I took a more particular view of the cut of her jibb, the cut of her mainsail, and also of her foresail and stay-sail; still more was my inquietude, when I discovered her pink stern and headless bows; then I knew her to be either the Three Sisters or the Content, as they were the only two vessels of this description then in the country.

My father being refreshed by his nap, arose, and took hold of my arm that I might lead him to his own apartment, which was then full four miles. In walking along, he commenced a pathetic discourse with me on the subject of his various sufferings, and of the difficulties he had encountered since he left his native land. Here his discourse turned on the excise, and he recited his numerous misfortunes, since he first quitted that office at Lamborn, in Berkshire. In the eye of his remembrance he beheld that much loved place still; but viewed it with a retrospect that awakened and brought to his mind the days of liberty and uninterrupted peace; this, when contrasted with his then limited situation, created the strongest emotions of grief and sensibility, with which he struggled, and his health being not a little impaired he was unable to proceed on his journey for a while; having recovered a little strength, we mended our pace, and on our reaching the Buzargate, a black, lurking, sly assassin, filled with satanic malice, and thirsting after European blood, sneaked from a narrow alley, and seeing two white men walking quietly along, threw a heavy stone at us, which struck my father a fatal blow

blow on the neck ; we instantly turned round, but he (the blood hunter) was out of sight in a moment, and I suppose jumped into the water. Had it not been dark, I certainly should have pursued the black fiend to the opposite shore, or have lost my life in the attempt.

It is proverbial that "one disaster seldom comes alone." This grievous blow was the cause of my father's death ; indeed I thought no other than that he was murdered on the spot. With the utmost difficulty and pain, however, we reached his apartments ; and on his entering the room my father's servant accosted him in substance as follows.

"Mr. James,

"I would advise you to take especial care of your son.
"Not more than five minutes ago, two seamen belonging
"to the Content, were here with a message from their
"captain ; that they are sent on purpose to seize him,
"wherever they can find him ; and if they cannot find
"him, their captain will see every sepoy on the island, that
"he may be apprehended ; so that if he be on the island
"they are resolved to have him ; the heavy hardships the
"seamen have endured since your son has been away, in
"navigating and pumping their leaky ship from Tellicherry,
"until their arrival this afternoon in the harbour ; and as
"he has clandestinely escaped those calamities, in which
"he ought to have borne his share, the captain and
"men are determined to have satisfaction.—If he is taken,
"and his father, or others, will make the unfortunate
"men of his ship a suitable pecuniary satisfaction, well ;
"if not, after he is taken on board, he shall pay for his
"self-taken liberty and pleasure another way....He shall
"smart for it."

At

At this I was thunderstruck, and thrown into such a panic, that I turned as pale as death. My father, who himself, could hardly speak in consequence of the blow he received, advised me to hasten to doctor Cruso's, but I was almost afraid to go, and afraid to stay.—However, I thought it the more safe to go thither, and therefore ran with my heart in my mouth, as it were, expecting every moment to be arrested in my career. Now I thought I saw them way-laying me on my right hand, and then, in my imagination they were on my left. Sometimes I fancied they were pursuing me and were close at my heels, and was afraid to look back, lest I should discover the justness of my fears. In about ten minutes I reached the doctor's apartments and laid myself down on his couch, when my agitation of mind did in a small degree subside, but I did not sleep for a long time. And when I got a little sleep, the trouble of my mind awakened all its faculties, to a perception of the most horrid visionary distress. In the midst of my sleep, I found myself at the foot of the pleasant mount on which I had actually been the day before. I fancied I saw the Content coming to an anchor, as I really saw it the past day. I then fancied that the sailors landed from the ship, and, filled with seven-fold rage, made their approaches towards me. I attempted to ascend the mount, but my legs seemed as if deprived of life, and after many struggles, unable to avoid these fierce self-avenging pursuers, I was unmercifully knocked down, and hauled away to the ship, where they were preparing to make me feel the weight of their vengeance, as they could obtain no other satisfaction.—Affrighted at this, I awoke, and finding it but a dream, I felt my mind composed for the moment. In the morning, I solaced myself, with a persuasion, that not all the sepoy
on

on the island, would be able easily to find me, let the skipper see them ever so handsomely, as there was no creature on the island except my father and doctor Cruso, who knew where I was, and on the doctor's honor and word, I rested my future security.

The doctor well-knowing the nature of my case, and thinking that an unemployed, sedentary confinement in that unpleasant situation, would bring an unavoidable melancholy on my mind, that would baffle all medical aid, kindly set me to work in transcribing a very copious manuscript of clinical lectures, for which he afterwards paid me in the most gentleman-like manner. Full well was doctor Cruso acquainted with the maladies of the mind, as well as the afflictions of the body, and what was necessary for their relief.—The prescription had its desired effect.—My employment requiring my strictest attention, I gave it, and found but little time to attend to the measures that might be set on foot, in order to my apprehension, and less uneasiness on account of them.

In the course of this my confinement, the island was visited by one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever known in this quarter of the globe, and what was remarkable, it happened, or seemed to happen, as the fulfilment of a prophecy, which all the inhabitants, except the Europeans, regarded with astonishing reverence, not doubting, but that it would be fully accomplished. Some noisy Bramins could not keep their tongues from proclaiming, that at such a time (meaning the present time) Bombay, in particular, would be destroyed by an earthquake, just as some geniuses, by their *sham-predictions and prognostications*, pretended to foretel, in London, about twenty years ago, the day fixed for the dissolution of the world.

One

One morning, about 10 o'clock, this tempest commenced; preceded by a violent noise in the atmosphere, not unlike the rumbling of distant thunder; and in about ten minutes, the wind blew so violently, that nothing could withstand its rage; the stately trees on Old Woman's Island, and on Malabar point, were in a moment torn up by the roots; some broke short off and thrown flat on the ground. The windmill was blown to pieces—A tent that was pitched close to my apartments, belonging to a doctor Philips, of the Bengal detachment, exhibited a scene most distressing and most singular:—this unfortunate tent being pitched full in the wind's eye, was not torn away entirely, and whirled into the air, as we all expected to be the case every minute, but being strongly fastened to the ground, and tightly corded to its pins, the skeleton of it weathered the tempest. Presently it burst, and the canvas which was sewed together, in even, regular cloths, was split and torn to atoms, and being driven about in the air, appeared like white ribbons, or French pendants; the clouds themselves were so very dark, that the whiteness of the canvases became awfully conspicuous.

This horrible tempest was most severely felt at Surat: almost the whole town and bazar, otherwise the market place, with part of the castle on which the Great Mogul's standard was flying, was overthrown. It was reported by a gentleman of eminent veracity, who afterwards took a tour to the northward as far as Surat, that four thousand of the inhabitants perished, the sea having washed away part of the castle, which caused an inundation that destroyed houses and every thing before it.

The shipping sustained the most serious mischief from this tremendous hurricane. Many ships of great and

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small

small force, men of war, Indiamen and small craft, and even fishing smacks were at this time out at sea, and at no great distance from the coast. The Neptune and Royal Admiral, East Indiamen, were in this latitude, driven on a lee-shore, and were under the painful necessity of unshipping their guns,

“ And hurl'd from sounding hinges o'er the side,
“ Thun'dring they plundg'd into the flashing tide.”

In the height of the gale they were driven into a narrow, where they laboured under a close reefed maintop-sail between two rocks, called Hunary and Kanary, and where, during the tempest, they both lay, where no ships had ever failed before, expecting every moment to be dashed to pieces; they, however, escaped without any material damage, either to ships or men, except the Neptune, which lost her rudder; and was obliged to fasten her main-top-mast at her stern for a substitute; both, however, got safe into the harbour of Bombay, the next day. The Royal Admiral was uninjured.

The Essex East Indiaman, and the company's frigate, the Revenge, were also in sight of Bombay;—the Revenge had the Essex in tow, but such was the violence of the weather,

“ Whilst wave, uproll'd on wave, assailed the clouds,”
that the Revenge, the finest ship the company had, foundered, and every soul on board perished. The seamen of the Essex, in the utmost consternation, cut the tow-rope or the Essex must also inevitably have gone to the bottom. The
boatswain

boatswain and three * of the best seamen on board the Effex, went aloft to cut away the main-top-mast, but whilst they were in the main-top, the preponderating weight of these unfortunate men, added to the labouring of the ship, carried away the main-mast ten feet from deck,

“ And crashing, thundering, o’er the quarter swings.”

A great number of Mahratta vessels were at once dashed on the rocks with many thousands of men.

The tempest commenced at the most southern part of the Malabar coast, and tore its ravaging way from the Isle of Ceylon to the city of Surat, spreading devastation all up the coast full fifteen hundred miles. When the dismal tidings were brought to Bombay of the havock the tempest had made among the shipping, the content was included in the list of those that were lost; this created contrary emotions within me. I was inexpressibly sorry for the untimely fate of the ship’s company, but especially for that of my trusty companion and late fellow-sufferer, William Burch; yet, on the other hand, I could not but rejoice from the comforting reflection that I had no more occasion to fear, or make myself uneasy from that quarter. I laughed at the remembrance of the captain’s threats, and, as the fatal consequences of the tempest on the ships were so flagrant as to preclude even the shadow of a reason for my disputing the truth of this intelligence, I began to break from my confinement; my father’s health also began to break very fast, and he seeing no danger in my venturing out to come and see him, sent me a letter for

* The e men were never seen the moment after they fell overboard with the mainmast.

JAMES'S VOYAGE

that purpose, part of the contents of which, I shall sub-join.

“I am hardly capable of holding my pen to invite you
“to come and see me; the doctor has but just left me,
“and does not flatter me with the hopes of a speedy re-
“covery. The blow I received the other night whilst
“walking home with you, has alone caused my present
“severe indisposition. I cannot but rejoice in that you
“have now no more cause of unhappiness from the ap-
“prehension of your being brought into similar captivity
“to that in which I found you when on ship-board,
“though I am very sorry for the unfortunate seamen; be
“ (for your part) diligent and submissive to your worthy
“employer, and I have not much doubt of seeing you (if
“I live) in a short time occupy a place of no small note
“in the Company’s service—inform yourself well of the
“nature and mystery of the India Company’s commerce—
“acquaint yourself with the principles of the Bombay
“Establishment; trace them to their origin—inquire with
“minute attention and ceaseless application to your busi-
“ness, into the rise and progress of trading to the East
“Indies—for this purpose read at your leisure some of
“doctor Crusoe’s tracts on this subject, and at every op-
“portunity listen with eager attention to the useful and
“edifying remarks that frequently drop from the lips of
“your intelligent employer.—I shall then have but little
“doubt that time, and your own industry, will place you
“in an eligible situation in the service of the Company of
“merchants of England trading to the East Indies.”

Advice so seasonable and wholesome as this, I could not fail to cherish, and as I was now no longer oppressed with fears of visiting the Content any more, I began to think

think seriously of the matter, and to evince the sense I entertained of my father's kind wishes for my welfare, I ardently strove to complete them, but whilst I was in the habit of informing my judgment and improving my knowledge in those mercantile mysteries that were certainly indispensable requisite to my attainment of such a portion of wealth, as might insure me present, and future felicity; I paid but very little attention to the greater mysteries of a growing vanity. Like Protheus, I was assuming a thousand shapes, and winding a thousand ways to climb the highest feat of honour, to wear the golden badge of fortune, to glitter in the gaudy pomp of dress, and to draw, by my distinguished appearance, the admiration of the gaping crouds. The morrent for the punishment, however, of this silly vanity, had now arrived. Since the report of the Content's having been blown out of Bombay harbour, and with all her men on board swallowed up in the remorseless deep, I was all the time under a delusion, as well as my father—we were both deceived in the name. The author of the report, first misunderstood the ship Good Intent for the Content—the former was the ship that was lost, and the latter arrived at this time again in the harbour. The manner in which I was undeceived was this:

One morning as my father (having recovered a little strength) was walking from his apartments to the King's barracks, he met my captain, accompanied by the captain of the Three Sisters, walking over Bombay Green. My father moved his hat to the captain, who, not being used to much compliment and greeting, especially from his superiors, turned round to see who had done him that honour; knowing my father, he stopped short, and asked him several questions, particularly inquiring after me.

My

My son, replied my father, is well enough and safe enough. He is where you will not find him—You need not therefore give yourself any trouble* about him. Very well, returned the captain, we will try to-morrow. Next morning, as I was sitting at my desk, intent upon what was before me, my father came to my employe, and requested him to permit my taking a walk with him.—Whilst we were walking over the green, he told me he had taken me from Mr. Constable's to appear before counsellor Day, and he was much afraid I should not return to him: when we arrived at the magistrate's house, I was called upon, and like an unhappy culprit, arraigned at the bar. Chilton stood on the plaintiff's side of the house, and my father on the defendant's.—Chilton, with matchless impudence, and at the expence of truth, endeavoured to exaggerate the criminality of my father's conduct and mine, and my father naturally strove to extenuate it.—The justice, in his own conscience, could not blame either my father or myself, when he recurred to the ties of nature, and many other powerful inducements that were equally evident to the magistrate and the captain; yet as the case before him was cognizable only by the laws of England, to the observance of which, he was in his office strictly bound, it was, he said, his duty to send me on board with my captain.—“If his captain, said the magistrate, who has sufficient authority, have equal humanity to grant him his enlargement, it is well; but it lies in his own breast.”

* Truly there was now but little necessity for my enemy to give himself any trouble about me. He had only to lodge his complaint with the sitting magistrate

Hereupon

Hereupon my father solicited the captain very earnestly that he would deliver up my articles, but he absolutely refused, and without any further argument, ordered me, or rather forced me away from my father's presence into the boat, and I was taken on board the ship the same hour. As soon as they had gotten me on board, they set me to work at my usual employment. I was afraid and ashamed to eat with the crew, nay, ashamed to look them in the face; and having, whilst on shore, been dispossessed of my cot, I exchanged the tent bed and chintz curtains, with the Massaljee that attended my palanquin with lighted flambeaux on shore, for the damp sails and the boatswain's mate, who attended me with a rope's end or a cat-o'-nine-tails. Now was my head sick, and my heart faint;

“ Now I could curse my natal day,

“ And wish that I had ne'er been born.”

And when, on a review of the captain's arbitrary conduct, whilst at Arabia, I reflected on what I had yet to expect, more particularly as I was the object of general resentment in the ship, the mere anticipation filled me with unspeakable woe. The day after I was taken on board, I went below, where I found an old pen and a little ink, and borrowing a bit of paper of one of the lads, I wrote a few lines to my father, and sent it by one of the boys in whom I reposed no small confidence. This boy, whilst going on shore in the boat, prompted by an impudent curiosity, opened the letter, which the equally ignorant and impudent scoundrel of a captain, snatched from his hands; whereupon he came on board, without going on shore, as he intended, and with the most inveterate rage, directed

rected the boatswain to put me in irons, lest I should effect my escape. The boatswain, smiling to himself, as he was putting his noble captain's commands into execution, said, you'll have your wack of this, my boy, and some good sauce to it, I hope. The contents of the letter I intended for my father, purported only, that he would consult Mr. Constable and Dr. Cruso for their assistance to send me some relief, and to send me on board from Mr. Constable's (from whom I was so cruelly forced away) my stock of clothes, both linen and woollen, which consisted of several superfine coats, a dozen of white nankeen waistcoats, the same number of breeches, and a corge of white stockings, all the gift of Mr. Constable, as a gratuity for my services whilst in his office.

Three days I had laid in chains, when I received a letter from my father, who, through the miscarriage of mine, little dreamt how I was treated. His letter was secretly conveyed to me by my friend Burch, who had it from his hands, and I read its contents. They were expressed with all the eloquence of grief;—but my memory fails, and I have no power to recite them. Soon, however, as I had read them, I very reluctantly destroyed the letter, but this I chose rather to do than run the risk of its being gotten hold of by the fingers of some of those malicious ones, who would blow up the coals of resentment against me by every mean in their power, and by shewing it the captain it would have had no other effect than to have induced him to pour fresh gall into my cup.

I was not quite a month with both feet made fast in the irons, before he was pleased to set me at liberty for awhile; by this time I was so reduced that it was truly wonderful how soul and body remained together. The
captain

captain was now prevailed on to let me go on shore, that being conjectured to be the only method to restore my health: I was therefore sent on shore, escorted by two Sepoys, and conveyed to a house where I was put under the eye and control of these two savages, and whilst I was in this situation, I could not brook the idea of my father's being so near me, and not to be suffered to see him. I therefore, one evening, whilst the centinels lay asleep, sensible that I could not endure more than I did, broke from my intolerable confinement, and, regardless of the consequence, posted to my father's house; he not being at home, I went to the house of his next door neighbour, serjeant Smith, who, not being provided with an empty bed, refused me admission till my father's arrival; business, however, preventing his coming home all that night, I prayed the serjeant that he would for my father's sake (if not for mine) allow me to sleep within his doors, though it were upon the bare floor. He then received me within his threshold, and being exceeding weak, not having eaten any thing since the morning of the foregoing day, I could now neither eat nor drink, but went and lay down upon the ground, where I slept from seven that night till ten the next morning. I pitied the centinels, judging of their feelings by my own, and if I could possibly have gone to them to afford them relief, without hazarding my own safety, I certainly should have done it, but the great law of nature says, charity begins at home, and self-preservation is the first grand maxim of that law. I therefore thought no more about them, but took care of myself. Next morning (I mean the morning after my long sleep on the bare ground) my father, struck with pleasing astonishment at seeing me anew at his house when he so little expected it, strongly developed those

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sentiments

sentiments of paternal solicitude for my security that were contained in his letter which I received whilst confined in irons on board; and to effect his wishes in this respect, he thought it the wisest measure he could possibly adopt, to secrete me in the King's barracks until the hour should arrive when two of his most faithful companions were to quit the island, and proceed to the Bengal detachment, which they then lay at Callian on the Continent, to which place they were both drafted; in order that I might remain there with them, and be under their more immediate care and protection. The two Sepoy officers seemed to rejoice in having this opportunity to evidence their attachment to my father, and when the time came that they were preparing to embark for the Continent with their wives (as they called them) and their baggage, furniture, &c. at mid-day, I went into their boat from the bunder pier (the Continent then at anchor not a furlong off) and proceeded to Callian with them. The Coolies now rowed us away as fast as their poor labouring limbs could pull the vessel, till we had reached the east side of Snakes Island, situated near the bottom of the island of Bombay, when, thinking myself secure, being far enough from the scent of that infernal hound the captain, I was desirous that the poor Laskars or Coolies might enjoy a little intermission of that labour with which they plied the boat. About sun-set we came to the beautiful island of Salfette, and being now in mid-channel, that is between this island and the main, I surveyed a scene the most enchanting, and in every respect the most desirable. It reminded me of Mount Sion, and the distant prospects were equally calculated to gratify the most romantic fancy; but as for me all these joy-inspiring scenes, were dull as a barren wilderness. I was
depressed

depressed beyond measure, and without any exaggeration I could paint the just state of my mind at that time in the words of an admired Poet; for I could feelingly say—

“ Sweet prospects, sweet birds, and sweet flowers,
“ Have all lost their sweetness for me.”

Nor did they only appear without sweetness, but the greater the beauty and grandeur of these wonders of nature, the keener was my anguish, so that I had rather by far not have cast my eyes on them, than to have viewed them to no other purpose than to enhance my own sorrow from the reflection that soon I must leave them, and perhaps to reap the fruits of a second desertion should I unfortunately be apprehended again. A just sense of my condition chained my soul to the earth, as sensibly as the boatswain of the *Content* chained my feet to the cabin-deck, otherwise I should have been enabled to quaff those pleasures which this terrestrial paradise affords to a mind not overwhelmed with distress.

We continued our course towards Callian with these charming landscapes constantly in my eye, opening, as we proceeded towards the interior part of the country, fresh scenes of pleasing wonder, which my companions in the boat expressed by their cheerful countenance and lively deportment. Observing how low and cheerless I was, Serjeant Larment attempted to ease my mind, and elevate my spirits to a participation of the general joy, but all his endeavours proving abortive, he declared, that if such a recreation as this (for all was mirth and glee in the boat) could not make me comfortable, especially after so great

a deliverance as he and his friend had wrought for me, he would "be d——d if he knew what could;"—lordly enough. But it would have been wonderful if the Serjeant, whose light and airy frame could not feel the oppressive load of distress and sorrow that I was then doomed to feel, had been able to tell why I was not so happy as himself.

We landed at the village of Tannah, on Salsette Island, to get some fresh fish or bumbaloes, but my stomach turned at the sight of them. Serjeant Larment now advised me to take a glass of Persian brandy, which I also loathed—the Serjeant, however, insisting upon it, I drank it, and it removed my sickness quickly, but although it did me this service, I still detested it. At 11 o'clock at night, the moon shining clear, the weather nearly calm, and the tide having turned in our favour, we all got into the boat, and onward we hastened to Callian, which then was about 40 miles off. I now began to be rather animated, and as I went along was struck with the excellent beauty of the night, and to the astonishment of those in the boat, my mind, which not long before was the seat of sadness, fear and corroding care was now rapt away on the wings of delight and joy. Here I could have lived, and on this island I could have died. Here, gladly would I have quitted my company in the boat to continue on the spot in that comfortable frame though I were never more to see the face of man. Well knowing the desires and appetites of my companions in the boat, were by no means congenial with mine, with the great Baxter, I could then say—"Nihil est mihi amicus solitudine."—But this was not to be. The boat had now arrived near Callian, and the waters became very shallow and narrow, and turning
and

and winding in almost semi-circular direction, the banks terminated the sight of the water at the distance of twenty yards both a head and a stern, or before the boat and behind it. Close to the bank were tall cocoa-nut, plantain, and tamarind trees, through the leaves of which, the queen of night darted her silver beams on the placid stream. My companions in the boat having foolishly drowned their senses at Tannah, in the Persian brandy, were at this time asleep. I thought it a pity to awake them, and yet it were a pity they should sleep away so ravishing a night—it is true the company shared the pleasure of the day, but nobody but myself enjoyed the pleasure of the night—nor do I think I shall ever forget it.

As morning approached, we were favoured by a gentle breeze; and now

“ Young Zephyrs breathing o’er the stream,
“ Or whispering through the trees,”

caused us to set the sail and give the poor black drudges a little rest as they had been pulling all night without cessation. This unspeakably serene and pleasant night was succeeded by a no less pleasant and charming morning, aurora ushering above the horizon.

“ That restless globe of golden light,
“ Whose beams create our day ;”

which blazed on the eastern mountains and threw aside the clouds like floating curtains at his approach.

At nine o’clock we had got a breast of the Peak of Bomilion, an exceedingly high peaked mountain, where, as I
was

was informed by my companions, the East-India Company kept their treasure as a place of refuge against the incursions of the Mahrattas. Four old Gentoo women (as report ran) were stationed at the top of this mountain, and being provided with a proper subsistence, the Company never doubted the security of their treasure. In the war in which the English were embroiled with Hyder Ally, four of these Gentoo women, when the place was menaced by that prince's army, easily defended the treasure and themselves—the curious and very dexterous way in which they performed their exploits and discomfited the besiegers, was merely rolling a great number of heavy stones down upon them; the declivity of the mountain being quite perpendicular, that simple expedient was alone sufficient to effect the total defeat of the enemy—by rolling away the first stone, the grasp of the first is broken, his body flung upon that of his follower, and they become the destroyers of each other.

Posting onwards on our watery journey, although it seemed as if we were gliding alone on fairy ground, we arrived in the afternoon at Callian, and I was taken to the house of one of my father's companions, whilst the other most earnestly intreated me to come under his roof and abide with him. The chief of the garrison being intimate with this man, he also requested me to go with him to the Chief's mansion, where I should live like a young prince and take my daily recreations with him: and, in a word, enjoy every luxury that Callian and the country about it, could furnish; but as I had before this time abundant reason to doubt the sincerity of this man's friendship, I peremptorily refused the offer he so obligingly made; I therefore accepted the hospitable proposal of him whose sincerity

rity I had the least reason to suspect. As I was creditably informed that the chief of this garrison contracts with his European friends at so much per head for every young man that can thus be crimped away to this place, as sure as I was then 16 years of age, I should have fallen into the hands of the contractors; and it was evident that this base-born, perfidious wretch, brought me from my father not to secure me from the ship, but in quality of a recruit, and I should certainly have been caught in the Bengal trap which was then set on Callian plains,* about three miles to the southward of the town, if the same unseen hand that brought to nought the councils of Ahitophel had not been on my side by defeating the machinations of this designing miscreant.

Being now (to use a nautical term) safe moored at my place of refuge, the house provided by my father's friend, I thought I could wait there with patience until the ship had sailed for England; but finding provision very scarce here, owing to the all-consuming Bengal army, in about a week after my arrival, I was half starved, and being destitute of money, was obliged to submit to the scanty quota allowed me by my father's friend. I therefore almost resolved on returning to Bombay over the trackless land, though it was near 70 miles, and I could not tell what might befall me in the night, yet upon mature consideration, judging it might be totally impracticable, had I taken that step,

“ To reach my father's hospitable gate, ”

I relinquished the idea, and continued in the country upwards of a month, spending my time in as profitable a

* Here the Bengal army lay encamped,

manner as my situation would admit of. It was in the summer season I remained here, and at the same time, perhaps, that London was bound in rigorous frost—it was the month of January, which in this latitude is reputed a very sultry month. Never shall I forget the excessive heat of the weather during 48 hours. The morning was temperate and continued so till 10 o'clock, when, as there was not a breath of air, and the country being surrounded with vast mountains, not one European was able to stir outside his door without his summerhead, nor yet to remain within doors with every window open. It was truly bloodwarm, so that we could not stand still, nor walk, but supinely lay ourselves down, and pant, and faint, and melt on the sultry couch; and like the birds of night, durst not appear abroad till midnight shades had tempered the insufferable blaze of day.

Here I remained under the scorching beams of the vertical sun, till my hair was perfectly scorched; in short, the inclemency of the weather prevented my making any particular remarks on the brute Creation here, as well as upon the inhabitants. I can only therefore observe, that the land in this country abounds with elephants and dromedaries, and there are also buffaloes; but I do not remember seeing any wild beasts or venomous insects here. The natives themselves are far more wild, vicious, and deceitful than all their four legged brethren in the universe. To prove how wild they are, I shall only mention that at the sight of an European, the naked creatures flee away, whilst others will swim through rivers, leap over hedges, run towards the inoffensive traveller, and with hideous grins and furious glaring eyeballs, threaten his instant death—to prove in one instance, how vicious and deceitful they

they are, I shall just mention that during my stay in this garrison. we were all in the utmost consternation in consequence of a report which was industriously propagated, and which met with alarming credit; namely, that the Mahrattas were encamped about 300 miles to the Southward, in the Conkan country, and that Callian would shortly be attacked. Spies were now arrived at the garrison upon a reconnoitering scheme; they accordingly began to consult our sepoy centinels, who guarded the Southern gate, and Buzar, concerning the expected attack from the Mahrattas, but withal they conducted their discourse and made their enquiries with such cunning caution, as to shut out all ground for the least suspicion. Having sufficiently seen the nakedness of the garrison, they (the spies) drew from out of their jerkin, a cutlass, and cut the centinels down in a moment; the darkness of the evening favoured their escape, but during the remainder of the time I was there, the rumour respecting the meditated invasion decreased, and I believe Hyder relinquished his intentions of besieging the place.

Having made these slight remarks, I beg leave to pen, in as concise a way as I possibly can, the manner in which I left this place.

When I had been rather more than a month at Callian, losing my time, and having no prospect of improving it, I was led back to Bombay in consequence of the following singular event:—

Being one evening at the house of a Mr. Galbraith, a North Briton, who dealt in spirits, I happened to see a man at the same house, whom I had seen before at my father's, at Bombay. I strove to shun his company, and made to Mr. G. and others that were with him, every possible ex-

cuse for quitting the house. The man whose company I thus endeavoured to avoid, was the constable of Bombay ; but he, however, insisted on my staying to drink a glass with him, which, not without much intreaty, I complied with ; he made many protestations of the warmest esteem for me, and much apparent friendship was couched under his soft tongue and simpering countenance, especially when he would have me to understand that he passed the night before he left Bombay, with much conviviality, in my father's company, and that he was in good health. I hope, also, added he, that my friend Mr. James's son enjoys is health at Callian, Merum Mendacium ! " Perhaps," continued my very affectionate friend, " you are afraid of me ;"—" Truly," said I, " you are right there—you need not be afraid of me," said the constable, " I did not come here with a view to apprehend my friend, Mr. James's son. O ! no—Look yonder, do you see those buffaloes ? I came to the Callian market to purchase them on my own account." What was that to me. Now all that he said served only to convince me more and more of the duplicity of his discourse, and of his dissimulation. He then wished me a good night ; and, in return, I wished him an honest heart. I now went home and lied down on the couch, which was placed in the yard (for it was too warm to sleep within doors) and in my sleep I thought the agent of our ship, with six of the seamen had arrived at the custom-house, at Callian ; and, directed by the constable to my couch, seized and took me away into a place of darkness. On this, I suddenly awoke, and finding it but a dream, was comforted, and went to sleep again ; I was, nevertheless, troubled in my mind by thinking it an ominous dream—a preface of what was really to take place—the

third

third morning after this, my fears and perplexity increased, and not knowing what step to take to insure myself a little ease, I went to my patron, and communicated to him the particulars of the dream I *had* the night after I left the constable. Instead of obtaining any relief from him, or even advice, in regard to my then critical situation, he coldly answered that there was no help for it, unless I should prefer going to the Bengal camp and enlist; for it is my opinion (said serjeant Larment) there is something in it altogether mysterious; in fine, he put as unpleasant an interpretation upon it, as Joseph did on the dream of Pharaoh's chief baker. All this day, I was distracted by these forebodings, and as night drew on, I formed a resolution (after having halted the whole day between several opinions) of taking myself off to the camp to enlist therein the next morning, the serjeant dissuading me from going the overnight. Just as I was stepping across the yard to go to my intended rest, not the agent I dreamed of, but some other officer, accompanied by that gentleman, the constable, bowled into the yard, and seized me by the throat just as I reached my couch.

The constable, on producing to me his official staff, forced me away without bidding the serjeant and his family a good night, just as my father took me from the good Mr. Constable at Bombay, in whose employment I had taken much delight, and from whom I had received so many favours, without being able to bid him good be with ye. The insidious natives, who were fee'd by my father for doing their best to secret me, now, by receiving a farther and perhaps a better bribe from the other Gentlemen, led them to the very place of my abode—they sold me. I was now conveyed by my father's *friend* to the

Grand Choquey, a place of confinement. Here I took up my lodging that night, and remained till noon the next day with two sepoys, holding loaded musquets and fixed bayonets close to my head during that time, so that had I attempted my own rescue, I must have had the bayonet or the ball in my body. The ground was full two inches deep in mud, being situate in the open street or buzar, and composed of a few pieces of old slit sticks tied together, and the roof of sprigs and leaves of cocoa-nut trees, I could not lay down, and I found it very difficult to stand upright. The most common stye in England was far less intolerable than this place; the clothes I had on were of the first quality and produce of India, but although thousands passed by me, and scores gathered round me, some viewing me gravely, others pitying me, yet my habilaments, costly as they were, did not procure me the least relief, other than an old rug, which a kind Persian woman who seemed sincerely to compassionate my distress, threw into the choquey for me to put round me; nor did the busy constable, although he had so lately shared the convivial hour with my father (as he was pleased to say) send me either food or water for my comfort whilst I was confined in this place. I now longed most earnestly to be released, and looked with eager expectation for the arrival of my two executioners, that I might be taken away, although it were to convey me to the ship; the misery both of body and mind that I was in whilst confined in this choquey, abated my dread of the consequences of my desertion, when I might arrive on board the Content. After these two gentlemen had taken a pleasant trip to the Bengal camp, they returned about mid-day, and released me from my kennel. I now sent a message to the serjeant, in whose
house

house I had been harboured, and entreated him to come and see a wretched and unexpected fulfilment of the interpretation he made of my dream. My patron (as I have termed him all along) replied by the messenger, that he was very poorly and could not come, but that he wished me a "safe passage to Bombay." What thanks were due to this gentleman for his hearty wishes. My father had long borne a particular regard for him, and had proved it in a way that deserved a very different return, but now that he was so far distant as not to receive any further assistance from him, his vile ingratitude (O let it not be known among the Arabs and the Mahrattas, lest they should for ever abhor the name of English friendship!) evidenced itself in this way—but alas! this is in a greater or less degree the maxim of this world. "Nil placet sine fructu."

Being now embarked in the country boat, the coolies pulled away as fast as they could. Now how was the scene changed: instead of surveying with elated spirits and transports of joy, the surrounding Paradise, I was doomed to behold the stern, menacing countenance of the officer, accompanied by the more disgusting person of the perfidious constable, and to have mine ears assailed by the horrid execrations of these shameless wretches, whose foreheads were petrified and had become impervious to a blush—this I say, I was sentenced to endure almost the whole of the passage; in short, my journey back to Bombay was equally grievous, as my passage to Callian pleasing: the boat reached Tannah about six in the evening, where the officer and his worthless companion took up their residence that evening, and I was kept in the boat all night under the eye of a strapping cooley. Since the moment I was first apprehended till this time, I had eaten nothing, and now I
received

received (but by whose directions I knew not) a little bumbalo curry, whilst my executioners, whose throats were the channel of excess, were eating and drinking voluptuously at a house of public refreshment, and at which place they sent me a little Persian brandy to keep out the ill effects of the fog whilst I lay in the boat, as there was a very thick one in the evening, and I had nothing but the sail of the boat to put over me in addition to the clothes on my back. The next morning they came to the boat, and we proceeded to Bombay. At 11 A. M. the boat reached mid-channel, between the island Salfette and the Main: now all nature seemed to my senses dreary and dead—now indeed

“ The Midsummer Sun shone but dim,

“ The fields strove in vain to look gay.

Or worse than this—my mind was pressed down with pain and disconsolation insupportable, from a conviction of my approaching punishment. Oft was I tempted to throw myself out of the boat, especially when we had brought the ship to our view. Being arrived along side the Content, the constable first mounted the gangway, and was followed by the officer: they each stationed themselves on either side to welcome me on board. They then went down into the cabin, whilst I remained on deck, expecting every minute to receive my sentence. Black looks, and full of resentment, were thrown at me from all parts of the ship, which hurt me more than my expected punishment from the captain, which when leaning over the companion hatchway, I expected every minute to receive. After the captain, the agent and another had held their council against me
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in the great cabin, which was closed by a general and bitter invective against me, they proceeded to execution, and the officer first coming upon deck, convened all the sailors, that they might each have the satisfaction of expressing their several modes of obtaining ample satisfaction on my body, as they all found themselves equally aggrieved, and were all intitled to a voice against me. One stretched his malignant throat and bellowed out, "let him be three
" times ducked from the main yard arm every day."—
Another, "let him be tied up to the gangway, and let
" every man and boy on board give him a dozen hearty
" lashes with the cat, that we may spill as much blood as
" he has sucked from us." Another exclaimed, "To
" punish him according to his demerits, let us keep him
" without his daily food, or only give him half a biscuit a
" day and half a pint of water—let this be continued a
" month. Another advised putting me in irons in addition
" to the abstinence prescribed by the last voice. Another
" only wished for his satisfaction, that the offender might
" be set to work every morning to clean the head of the
" ship, and afterwards to cleanse and scower the jackets
" and trowsers of all the sailors in the ship, from the cook
" to the cabin boy, and in case of default, to receive a
" dozen lashes from that person whose jacket and trowsers
" he shall thus neglect." Another voice cried aloud,
" Let him be keel-hauled,* and it will not matter if his
" brains are dashed against the keel." These were the

* To keel-haul a person, is to run a rope under the ship's keel or bottom, to meet on the other side the ship; to one end of this rope the person is fastened and drawn under the ship's bottom to the other side.

various modes of punishment that sprung from the inventive brains of the crew, but as it was not possible that I could endure them all, the captain recommended them to be content to give me a few dozens on my naked back, and afterwards to make my feet fast in the irons. This they agreed to, and I was now tied to the gun, and received a smart flagellation on my naked shoulders, but what number of dozens I received, I do not recollect. This done, I was put in irons as before, and there kept several days : in the interim the officer, the money loving officer (whose soul was composed of brutality and sordid avarice) thinking the expences he had borne in his journey to Callian were too much to go out of his own pocket, supposed that by finesse, he could influence the Magistrate to turn these expences on my father. For this purpose, they liberated and took me on shore, where I was brought before the fitting Magistrate, who was Mr. Gambier, and very happily not Counsellor Day. The officer, in preferring the impeachment to the Magistrate, blended the ridiculous idea of my father's bearing the expences of his and the constable's extravagant and luxurious journey to Callian, which amounted to no more (observe now their modesty) than ninety rupees, at 2s. 6d. the rupee. The Justice,—the humane, the discerning and impartial Justice, asked this miserable fellow, what he would have done had it happened that he had been in my case, and my father's.—Silence betrayed the frailty of his cause, and the magistrate recommended him to think himself sufficiently benefited in coming to the re-possession of my person, without any of his craving wishes to get a soldier's money. He ridiculed the idea of my father's bearing those expences or any part of them, and he started from the thought of so *shameful*,
not

not to say *unnatural* a demand. The Justice, moreover observed, that it would be at his peril, as well as that of the captain, if he exercised any additional and unprovoked rigor towards me whilst I continued on board and performed my duty. We were then dismissed, and I walked over Bombay Green with my spirits much raised, but was taken on board again without being permitted to go and see my father, whom I had not seen since I departed for Callian in the boat, with his *right, trusty and well-beloved Friend*.

I was now set to work, but it was the most servile and laborious that could possibly be invented, as well as the most dirty and filthy—common decency forbids me to mention the nature of my daily employment.

The two officers on being non-suited by Justice Gambier, began now to retaliate, the earliest opportunity; the captain unable to support the piercing reflection of throwing away so much money in getting me from Callian, made a beggarly reprisal upon my stock of clothes, as well linen as woollen, he not being able to get any other satisfaction. All my apparel, now no longer mine, the malicious mortal suffered to be moth-eaten before we had finished the voyage, and before he had any inclination to turn them to their owner. He surely had ample satisfaction; for the value of my property that was thus seized and destroyed,* was three times more than all his Callian expences.

* This reminds me of an observation of a late author, who speaking of some of the accursed effects of malice, says that it takes an unnatural and hellish pleasure in hurting men in their property and possessions, and shares the only delight of devils, when it can repay a *real* or a *fancied* injury sevenfold.

Not long after I had been brought on board a second time (I mean from Callian) I was visited by an intermittent fever, which having continued some length of time without any medical attention having been paid to it, reduced me much. How it happened, was most mysterious, but thus it was, that during this visitation, the cabin-boy gave me daily and constant attendance; from some quarter or another, I was supplied with a bottle of Peruvian bark and two bottles of wine, all of which agreeably to prescription, I used medicinally. At this time I loathed—my stomach turned at good roast beef and greens, hard as they were to be had; and I often took myself upon deck in the heat of the day, and putting on a great coat, buttoned myself up and spread out my arms to catch the genial beams of the sun—the heat at this time was very powerful, so that all the masts in the ship were cracked and split; this obliged the seamen to hoist buckets of water up to the mast-heads, and empty them on the masts, yards, and rigging—to clap one's hand on the lead that is nailed to the tafferel, was, without exaggeration, like the clapping it on coals of fire. I now became a mere walking shadow, and the French surgeon, who, by the captain's orders (but not till the last extremity) gave me his daily attendance, now left me to the great and supreme disposer of all things. My father all this time knew nothing of my condition; nay, he did not know but that I was yet safe at Callian, as he had never been apprized even of the action brought against him by the officer for the expences, before Justice Gambier, and I was incapable of sending him word where and how I was. But this was not all—the doctor now brought in his bill, and I knew not what step to take to get it discharged. If, on
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the one hand, I had asked the officer to advance me the money, their miserable and rancorous souls would prevent their granting it; or if, on the other, I had requested my father to discharge it, his doing it would only awaken these Gentlemen (to whose ears it would unavoidably come) to a recollection of the Callian bill, which would have been to awaken in their implacable hearts every sentiment of revenge and cruelty, and stir them up to embitter my life. I was truly unhappy, from fear, that the doctor would lose his money. Contrary, indeed, to my expectations, however, the captain, just before we sailed, asked me if I could pay the doctor's bill. By way of answer, I asked him how he thought I could? Then, said he, that the doctor may not go without his money, I will advance it, and charge it to your account against the owner. This was done, and I thought it a favour to me, as well as an act of justice towards the doctor; but I rather think that this proceeded less from a principle of honour towards the doctor than from a fear of the reflection that might be thrown on him and on the ship, had we sailed away and left it undischarged. It is my opinion that the captain would, and perhaps did from his heart, drive away from him that irascibility, which, before, so characterised his behaviour towards me, as I found it went better with me just at this time than it had during the time I was in the country; but my first and greatest enemy was now another person, who, because the draught of my sorrow was not sufficiently unpleasant, threw many bitter ingredients in. By the malicious insinuations of this man, the captain was prevailed upon to think my conduct unpardonable, and to take all possible advantage of me by way of retaliation for the injury done them in consequence

of my desertion, but more especially for their being nonsuited by Justice Gambier, and being obliged to bear their own expences incurred by apprehending me at Callian. This was more cutting to them than all the rest.

I was now just turned of sixteen years of age, and I confess had not judgment enough to tell whether or not the manifold instances of cruelty that were so arbitrarily inflicted on me by these persons, were justifiable by the laws of England, nor whether, should we ever arrive in England, I could cast them in an English Court of Judicature; but I am now satisfied, that were I inclined to institute an action against them, I should obtain a verdict.

Before we sailed for Europe, advices were received by the Governor and Council of Bombay, that Sir Edward Hughes was about to lay siege to Mangulore, a considerable garrison belonging to Hyder Ally, on the coast of Malabar, and that the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore had reinforced the English army with 5000 men to go against that place.

This intelligence set the brains of the Governor and Council at work to find out convenient means to get these troops conveyed down the coast, and next day orders were received by the agent for transports, that the Content, Three Sisters, and Eagle, who were on the eve of sailing for Europe, should be detained in the country, on purpose to convey these troops to the enemy's fortress. Hereupon the agent and all the seamen who had buoyed themselves up with the pleasing hope of returning to their native country, felt themselves sadly mortified, but particularly the agent, who himself wished most anxiously to return to England

England to see his wife, who kept a chandler's shop in a village near Salisbury.

Now, in every thing, the utmost disorder and confusion prevailed. General Matthews, who was appointed to the command of the army to be sent on this hazardous enterprise, came on board the *Content*, and I being the only person in the cabin (the captain and mate being on shore) the General desired me to accompany him through every part of the ship. I did so—as soon as he had surveyed it, and found it sufficiently commodious to admit three hundred troops, the General went on shore and quickly sent them on board, where there was nobody to put them in a suitable train. At last some officers arrived with wrath in their countenance, and cursing, raving, and storming in such a manner, that I could not have thought there had been such dæmons on this side the infernal world. Piteous, indeed, was the situation of these poor black troops. They were stowed so close to each other, that as we stepped from one part of the ship to another to pull the ropes and navigate the ship, they were trodden on every moment by all the seamen on board; and this was wholly unavoidable. Several were trampled almost to death, and it was an astonishing circumstance that half of them were not killed. It was altogether necessary that these unfortunate mortals should sleep on the deck, for had they slept between decks, doubtless they would have been suffocated before we had reached Mangalore.

Being equipped, our ship, accompanied by the *Three Sisters* and *Eagle*, sailed with instructions to return to Bombay after we had disembarked our troops (provided we were not taken) instead of proceeding for Europe. This
made

made them all perfectly unhappy, as they expected by being detained in the country, they would become blacks themselves in complexion. Two days subsequent to our sailing, we made the island and city of Goa, where we saw many of the enemy's ships that were, apparently, ships of force. We steered away from them with the utmost precipitation, for, had we given them battle, we should have been taken in a trice, and our feeble resistance would only have terminated in our own destruction, and in *that* of the object of our expedition; we therefore sailed on with a favourable gale, and, in the space of eighteen hours afterwards, made the land, and sailed in for it, which happened to be fort Merzee, situated about one hundred and twenty English miles to the southward of Goa, and nearly one hundred northward of the threatened garrison of Mangalore. Here General Matthews cast an hostile eye, and immediately caused the signal to be thrown out to disembark the troops and take the little spot; the action, such as it was, commenced with a great deal of military skill, but with no great appearance of military ardor; the garrison was defended by a pitiful wooden fort, which kept up a brisk cannonade upwards of two hours, and thinking the besiegers were beaten off, this little fortress made a sortie, but finding the English advancing, the poor wretches fled, and the fort was evacuated. General Matthews, however, thinking this spot too contemptible to engage his attention, determined not to hazard the lives of his men for so inconsiderable an acquisition: he then sounded a retreat (*receptui cecinit*) but one of the soldiers, either regardless of the signal, or out of wilful disobedience to it, pushed himself (under an idea that others would follow him) up to the mouth of the battery, when a cross-bar shot, taking

taking him across the flank, cut him almost in two, and he was dead in five minutes; an awful punishment for the man's rashness and disobedience to that discipline which should be most strictly observed in all military operations.

The garrison having surrendered, General Matthews, thinking the place, notwithstanding its insignificant appearance, might, in case of an unsuccessful expedition against Mangalore, become a place of refuge, as well for the ships as the soldiers, very wisely directed a captain and two lieutenants, with part of a battalion of Europeans and Sepoys to take possession of the conquered fort, the harbour, and the country ten miles round, which, though uninhabited, was yet fruitful, whilst he and his troops proceeded with the fleet directly for Onoar, a considerable fort that lay in his way to Mangalore, for he seemed resolved to scour the coast as he went on. The Content and Three Sisters were stationed at this bay, as guardships, to await the tidings of the good or ill-success of General Matthews in his expedition against the enemy's capital on this coast. We now navigated these two ships over the bar, and brought them, after great difficulty and danger, into a smooth, narrow, pleasant river, which runs full thirty miles inland. Here we were enclosed by the land, and the views that presented themselves of the interior of the country, brought to my remembrance those sweet prospects with which I have a thousand times feasted my eyes to the North and South of the White Horse Hill, near Lamborn, in the county of Berks, that favoured country.

"Where gentle rains and tepid breeze

"Call bursting fruits from teeming trees."

We

We now sent the boat and crew on shore in quest of fresh water and provision. Water, indeed, we had the satisfaction to find as soon as we landed, but it was many hours before we had any prospect of getting fresh meat, and for that we were obliged to traverse a vast extent of uninhabited country. The fruit of our chase consisted of two wild boars which we brought on board; these were killed and roasted, and although there were but ten months, including all the ship's officers, to partake of them, yet we picked their bones clean at one meal.

The crew of our two ships not having much business to employ them at this place on ship-board, were commanded to go on shore, and hunt daily for food for our own subsistence, which amounted to the same thing as keeping ourselves when we had no prospect at all of doing it. Our trust for support must now be placed in Providence alone—the greater part of us, therefore, again took our perambulations over craggy cliffs and mountains. Afraid, being in an enemy's country, to venture too far, we almost resolved in the evening to return famished to the ship, as we had spent the day and caught nothing: whilst pondering on what was best to be done, some of the seamen perceived at a distance a groupe of Mahratta women—towards them we marched, and, at sight of us, they fell to the earth, kissing their bambuce or shoes, in token of the most profound fear and submission. Though we could not understand the language of their lips, yet I, for one, well understood the language of their minds, which, with sorrowful looks, supplicating gestures and outstretched hands, they spoke to my feelings. Half-starved themselves, they caught their starved or starving children and young companions in their trembling arms, and in
their

their feeble flight dropped them on the rocky ground, nor stopped to take them up again—they were terrified at our musquets, but we strove to convince these unfortunate creatures, of our harmless and pacific intentions toward them. Having accomplished our views in this respect, and made them sensible that extreme hunger had directed us to that spot, and that fresh provision was our only pursuit, these women directed us to a meadow where two calves were grazing, but to whom they particularly belonged the black women knew not, and the white men cared not. We knew they were the property of the enemy, and therefore seized them immediately, conveyed them to Merzee Bay, and sent them on board. We also found some young rabbits, and one of the lads having fallen in with some of their ebony gods and images, brought as many away as he could carry.

At this place (and particularly at this time, for it happened to be the summer season) the cocoa-nut trees are the most fine, lofty, and luxuriant of any, perhaps, in the universe; they are numerous and abound with the richest fruit for several miles from the coast towards the Mahratta country; the fruit was in such abundance, that it was wonderful the trees, strong as they were, did not break down with their weighty load. The ship's company having now no other employment, began to cut down some of these trees in order to obtain the fruit. After we had procured some dozens of them, and stripped off the green shell or coat, we broke the inner shell, drank the milk to quench our thirst, instead of water, and daintily threw the kernel (which was the most material part) away. The spring tides having left us for a season, we were brought into a most

inextricable dilemma. It was impossible to get the ship over the bar until the spring-tides had set in again ; so that all hands could not employ their time in any other way than sawing down these cocoa-nut trees; and instead of throwing the nuts away, we found it necessary to eat them, not being able to get any thing more substantial ; nor were we long permitted to continue in these Elysian fields.— Our enemy found us out, and being defenceless on shore, we dreaded a severe retaliation from the exasperated inhabitants, for having, during our excursion, plundered them of their calves, and otherways trespassing on their rights, We were every moment in jeopardy—nothing but the continual din of war assailed our ears; the incessant dreadful cannonade from Onoar, which General Matthews had besieged, and the constant discharge of musquetry, levelled at ourselves, which from want of ammunition and men, we were unable to return; and after we had escaped to our ship, we were in continual fear of being boarded; and in that case we should have been sentenced to endure the most dreadful tortures. An instance of unparralleled barbarity had not long before been committed by some of these monsters on the bodies of some respectable officers in the company's service. The circumstances, from the best authority, were literally thus :—

One of the Mahratta ships of war which had long grievously annoyed this coast, and committed various outrages on the India Company's shipping and trade, having fallen in with one of the Company's sloops of war which was conveying Admiral Hughes's dispatches from Trincomaley in the island of Ceylon, to Bombay, brought the English sloop to an action, which continued seven glasses with

un-

unequalled vigour on both sides, but particularly on the part of the spirited English, although their discouragement was great—the first broadside of the Mahratta's, did but little execution, but the second almost cleared the fore-castle and main deck of the Company's sloop; full seven-eighths of her men, both Europeans and Sepoys, were killed and maimed; all her masts were shot away, and between wind and water the hull was pierced in more than twenty places. Lieutenant-Colonel Fullarton was wounded, and Major Shaw shot through the heart.

Having now neither men nor ammunition to oppose any longer the attacks of this cruel enemy, the remaining British sailors that survived the bloody conflict, cried out for quarter; but alas! alas! my blood chills when I reflect on the horrid scene—*ad internecionem cæsi sunt*—no quarters were given; and having boarded the English sloop, they seized the commanding officer, and one of the savages, by a vengeful flash with his cutlass, severed his head from his shoulders. They then ran and seized the unhappy few that remained, cut their throats from ear to ear, and hung them up by their heels to the yard-arms of their own ship, and of the captured sloop. Is not this noted by the great Author of Peace and Lover of Concord and Mercy? Surely it is. With such measure as these devils meted may it be measured to them again, and to all such violaters of that law which says to all—"Be merciful."

Whilst our ships were thus wind-bound, the seamen, far from being idle, were busily employed, some in one pursuit, some in another—some in singing and dancing, others in swearing and fighting—some shooting the tropical birds that were flying aloft and alighting on the yard-arms of our ships, and afterwards swimming through a mighty sea

to bring them on board, exposed to the vast multitudes of sharks and other voracious fish; whilst others were eagerly employed in eating them, though almost raw.

An albetrosse having been shot off the main-yard by the mate, a very unwise and fool-hardy fellow, as soon as it fell, pulled off his clothes, swam after it to a great distance from the ship, and after having been half an hour in the high-swelling waves, swimming with one hand, and holding his bird in the other, he at length reached the ship. The man's strength being wholly gone, he was fastened to a rope and hauled on board, and afterwards the bird. The man was instantly carried into the 'tween decks and put into his hammock. The effect of his rashness was, a violent cold, which, from want of suitable attention, in a few days terminated his existence. He was tied up in the hammock in which he expired, and committed to the great deep with a bag of ballast at his feet, when one of the greedy inhabitants of the sea which was perceived swimming close to the stern of the ship during the whole time the corpse was kept on board, immediately descended after it, attacked it, and the ravenous creature devoured hammock, ballast, and corpse.

The bird he brought on board was truly a phenomenon, for it measured from the extremity of its beak to that of its tail, five feet and some inches, and from the extremity of one wing to that of the other, when fully expanded, nearly six feet; the wings of this bird we saved, but the flesh was so nauseous, that notwithstanding the keenness of our appetites our stomachs revolted against this species of fresh provision.

The

The vessel having continued some weeks weather-bound at Merzee, the wind at last became favourable, but the garrison of Mangalore had not yet surrendered to the British arms. During this time, however, we heard the incessant roar of cannons from that garrison from which it could readily be presumed that much blood-shed was the consequence. A messenger now arrived, and brought us the news that the Mahrattas had slain in three days more than two thousand English and Natives, including English and Sepoy officers; vast numbers in the train of artillery—the bombardiers and matrosses, the black commandants, subheders and jamhedars were partly killed and partly wounded, but the besiegers still remained at their duty, and were resolved to raze the city to the ground. Some English officers fell into the hands of the enemy, but the case of those who were killed during the regular siege, was infinitely less shocking than that of the unfortunate Englishmen who were made prisoners by their barbarous adversaries. As soon as they were taken, they suffered a fate similar to that which befel the company and passengers of the Company's sloop of war.

The wind was still favourable, and as the canonade had ceased, the tidings arrived on board, of the complete reduction of Mangalore. We then weighed anchor and sailed for Bombay; and on our arrival at that place, sent our dispatches to the Governor and Council of the Island who issued orders for every private to share the general joy, and drink the General's health, in an additional allowance of spirits and Persian brandy. The whole garrison and castle fired arms on the occasion, and the ships were dressed in colours, consisting of ensigns flags and pendants, descriptive of

of the various maritime powers in Europe and Asia.—
 These demonstrations of joy continued three days ; which,
 when I pause and consider the nature of this species of
 warfare, and also the cause, which differs so essentially
 from the nature and causes of war against our old—our
 treacherous foes the Powers of Europe, which we are
 compelled often to undertake for our National security,
 rather than to accomplish our ambitious views : I say,
 when I consider this, it brings to my recollection an ob-
 servation once made by that Apostle of the Deistical
 World,—Voltaire.

“ A hundred thousand mad animals,” says that author,
 “ whose heads are covered with hats, advance to kill, or
 “ to be killed by the like number of their fellow mortals,
 “ whose heads are covered with turbans. By this strange
 “ procedure they want, at best, to decide whether a tract
 “ of land, to which none of them all lay any claim, shall
 “ belong to a certain man whom they call Sultan, or to
 “ another, whom they name Cæsar, neither of whom ever
 “ saw, or will see the spot so furiously contended for, and
 “ very few of those creatures ever beheld the *animal* for
 “ which they thus mutually butcher each other. From
 “ time immemorial this has been the way of mankind al-
 “ most all over the earth. What an excess of madness is
 “ this !—and how deservedly might a superior Being crush
 “ to atoms this earthy ball, the bloody nest of such ridi-
 “ culous murderers.,’

The same author makes elsewhere the following
 flexions on the same melancholy subject :—

“ Famine, pestilence and war, are the three most fa-
 “ mous scourges of this lower world. The two first come
 “ from

“ from God, but the last, in which all three concur, comes
“ from the imagination of princes or ministers. A king
“ fancies he has a right to a distant province. He raises a
“ multitude of men, who have nothing to do, and nothing
“ to lose; gives them a red coat and a laced hat, and bids
“ them wheel to the right, wheel to the left, and march
“ to glory. Five or six of these Belligerent powers engage
“ together, three against three, or two against four; but
“ whatever part they take, they all agree in one point,
“ which is, to do their neighbours all possible mischief.
“ The most astonishing thing belonging to their infernal
“ undertaking, is, that every ringleader of those murder-
“ ers get his colours consecrated, and solemnly blessed in
“ the name of God, before he marches up to the destruc-
“ tion of his fellow creatures. If a chief warrior, has had
“ the good fortune of getting two or three thousand men
“ slaughtered, he thinks it not worth his while to thank
“ God for that, but if, to complete his good fortune; ten
“ thousand men have been destroyed by fire and sword, or
“ some capital city has been reduced to a heap of rubbish;
“ a day of public thanksgiving is held on the *joyous* occa-
“ sion. Is not this a fine art which carries such desolation
“ through the earth, and one year with another destroys
“ millions of human beings? ”

Touched by a sincere concern for the miseries of the
oppressed part of mankind, whilst, at the same time, I am
not less moved by a spirit of indignation, at the conduct
of their oppressors, I may, in the preceding sheets, pro-
bably have trespassed on your kind attention, beyond what
I at first intended; suffer me, however, to close this part
of

of my observations, by slightly adverting to such objects, as come more immediately under my notice, during the remaining part of my stay in India.

The natives of the island of Bombay and the coast of Malabar, consist of the following descriptions, viz.

Portuguese, Topazees, Hullancores, Mussilmen, Bra-
mins, Gentoos, Moors, Arabs, Jews, Persians, Arme-
nians, Banksallies, Mahrattas, &c.

The black Portuguese as they are denominated, (tho' they never were more originally than a mongrel breed of Portuguese and Gentoos) are a sprightly, active, healthy, muscular race of people, but very artful, and for the most part, arrant dissemblers. They make strong pretensions to religion, and discover a very scrupulous adherence to the doctrines and tenets of the Romish church, whilst out of their sanctuary, they are the most avaricious and designing people on the Island; for in their manner of getting money, they seem to have followed the advice of a certain father to his son,

“ John, ” says this hoary sinner on his death bed, “ I
“ am on the eve of bidding you an eternal farewell; you
“ must now do for yourself, in the best way you can; I
“ have no money to leave you, and without it your days
“ will be miserable; if you can get money honestly, do;
“ but at any rate “ *get money.* ” Thus much I have
taken the liberty to say, in justice to the black Portuguese
of the East.

The Topazees, are a set of the most ignorant brutes I
ever saw:—I shall give one instance of their ignorance
and brutality.—Two of these Topazees, having one day
way-laid two Gentoos infants, who were richly dressed,
and

and had joys on their fingers, as is the custom among the opulent part of this sect) soon laid their thievish claws on them, and endeavoured to draw the joys off the children's fingers; unable to effect this, they took out their knives, cut off the four fingers of the innocents, pocketed the brilliants, and went off, leaving the children bleeding on the spot;—the piercing shrieks of the innocent victims, reached the ears of some Sepoys that were hard by, who, on hearing the cries, instantly came and found them both, just expiring.—The wretches, who were not out of sight, were pursued and taken by the Sepoys, and carried before Governor Hornby, and the Bombay council, where, the fact being proved, the diamonds being found upon them, and their guilt being indisputable, they were, by the law of the island, hanged on the gibbet, at the outside of the garrison, where, being the first malefactors that were executed on this island for many years, they became a spectacle, and I hope a warning, to full twenty thousand of the inhabitants: none pitied them, but on the contrary, they were loaded with the united execrations of that immense throng.

The Hullancors, are a set of creatures the most filthy and beastly of any on the face of the earth—if possible, they are beneath the level of the Hottentots; they feed on cats and dogs, and other unclean animals, whenever they can catch them, with great avidity, and marks of the highest satisfaction.

The Mussilmen come next: these are the most rational and moral of their complexion: they are strict observers of their religion, and never omit craving the benediction of their prophet, at morning and night, and before and after
P meals

meals. The outside of their platters they generally keep very clean, and I verily believe they, in general, make the inside clean also. It were well if nine-tenths of our christians, would endeavour to regulate their conduct after the model of these unenlightened people:

Of the Bramins (or Brachmans) I know but little: from common report, I have learnt that they lead a life of singular simplicity and austerity, and practice the most amiable and benevolent virtues.

The Gentoos come next under my observation, and of them I have abundant reason to speak well.

Dr. Cruso's clerk, was a Gentoo, and one of those who make it their constant study to diffuse their good offices, to the utmost extent of their ability, utterly strangers to the vindictive spirit of bigotry and superstition. In the beneficence of this individual, I myself shared largely, tho' but little known to him, when I first became a partaker of his liberality.—In a word, genuine philanthropy and disinterestedness characterize the whole of this sect of people, from the grand merchant to the cooley.

The Moors are also a rational and civilized set of people; they maintain much order and regularity in their own families, and like the Gentoos, make every effort to establish the same in those of their neighbours.

The Arabs I have already sufficiently noticed. They are a savage, inhuman, thievish race, and at their bows and arrows, and lances, by means of which they plunder and kill one another, they are dexterous beyond precedent, and beyond conception.

The Jews come next under consideration; but of them there are very few—as there is just the same difference between

tween these black Jews and the white ones, as there is between an European and a black, all that I shall say is, that the same depraved spirit inhabits the clay tenements of these black Jews, as distinguishes those of Europe: they differ only in complexion. Their skin, tho' black as soot, is but a faint emblem of the blackness within.

The Parsees, are a set of people so artful and sly in their dealings, as to defeat the plans of the most subtle Europeans that have been set on foot to detect them.

They observe a rigid adherence to the absurd notions of Mahomet. Whether they are of the persuasion of Hali or of Omar, I have never been able to learn, but this I have learnt, that like the Calvinists and Arminians among the Protestants, they throw stones and dirt at each other about an idle ceremony in their mode of worship;—like them they go the length of their chain, to wound the reputation of each other;—like them they share the only delight of devils, when they can repay an injury with interest. But of these, it may be observed, their acrimony and virulence spur them on to tear out the heart and liver of their adversary, and eat them like voracious cannibals. A wond'rous contrast appears in the exterior of their women, whom, I venture to pronounce the most beautiful of their complexion throughout Asia.

They believe in the transmigration of souls. Those, say they, who have lived moral lives, after they have been dead a certain space of time, are sent by Mahomet to dwell in, and re-animate the bodies of harmless and gentle animals; whilst those who have led immoral lives, are destined to dwell in the bodies of savages and ferocious creatures; and they have very industriously strove to obtrude these

opinions on the weak and credulous; but by the Moors and the Armenians they are treated with contempt.

The Armenians who are emigrants from Armenia, are the most exemplary people on the island—they are sensible, solid, just, and of good report throughout India—strict honor integrity and industry, are their noble and distinguishing characteristics—their courtesy is also parallel with their other good qualities, and whenever they mingle with the common herd, they appear so much brighter and more amiable, that they are considered of a nature superior to humanity;—the men are equally fair with the women of China, and having their heads shaven, they wear a large black or white velvet cap. The women are so covered up in all weathers, that no part of their person can be seen.

The Banians, bear a strong resemblance to the Gentoos.—One thing alone they discover peculiar to themselves, and that is, with respect to eating and drinking—It is a law among these people, to observe the strictest rules of cleanliness and decency, and in order to this good end, they have enacted, that whosoever of their fraternity, in drinking out of their brazen vessels, should happen to touch them with their lips, upon being discovered, shall be excommunicated: and if any of their women are seen speaking to a man of a different cast, the poor creature so offending, is anathematized in the same way—This ridiculous kind of anathema, is what is generally understood by the term of “losing cast;” but as my enlightened peruser will not any more than myself, be able to see the least meaning or sense in all this, we must, I suppose, term it “arrant nonsense.”

The Bankallies differ but very little from the Bramins—indeed, in many points of view, they are reputed as the same cast—the difference is only this—the Bramins are wealthy,

wealthy, the Banksallies, needy, they are the coolies—the drudges.

“The Mahrattas, I have glanced at in some of the foregoing pages, but I have not noticed, that in addition to their wild, savage nature, they are a race of creatures, the most nasty* and filthy of all the various casts of people on the island, or in India. They abound on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; where, instead of interring, they rather annihilate the corpse thus: As soon as the spirit quits its clays tenement, they wait till the water is at its lowest ebb, they then carry the corpse down to the water's edge and burn it to ashes, which are afterwards swept away by the flood. The Parsees differ from the Mahrattas in this respect; they lay the corpse in an open field, upon a grating, where it remains till the crows and other carnivorous fowl devour it, and when only the bones are left, they moulder into dust. No other funeral obsequies are here observed, than the attendance of all the *naked* relations of the deceased.

Having now finished my remarks on the genius and dispositions of these Oriental beings, I think it time to return on board, as the period is now arrived, that our ship must depart from Asia to Europe.

By this time the forfeited moderation of our captain, I

* As if these black creatures were not black enough, they daub their filthy persons with soot and grease every morning, fancying they add to their importance, by applications of this kind; and when I lived at Dr. CRUSO's, I was glad to leave his house, as these people appeared every morning in thousands on the beach.—
Ut alvum exonerarent!

had pretty well regained, and I now sent to my father, acquainting him of our immediate departure for Europe: he accordingly came with a view to see me whilst our bark was yet on the ways. Although he was extremely weak in body, he came up to his knees in water to reach the boat in order to come on board, but Chilton and the mate would not suffer him. I then attempted to go on board the Three Sisters, that I might have a peaceable interview with my father before we sailed, but these two humane, sympathising Britons watched me too narrowly. Off we now went, the sails all set:—my father stood some time on the bunder pier, waving his hat without intermission:—I stood on the main deck, waving mine in reply, the only farewell we were allowed to take. In five or ten minutes the ship sailed round into the stream, and the castle shut him from my sight, never to behold him more !*

* Here was a sudden change of fortune, but I will not impiously say it was for the worse, for now I am assured it was not, yet it certainly filled my mind with the most poignant grief at this time, to reflect on the brutal manner in which I was prevented an interview with my father, especially as his bodily pains and infirmity induced me to fear I should never see him again. I was now re-embarked on board that kind of ship, in which the intrepid Captain of an English man of war declared he would not venture his old shoes.

APRIL

APRIL 27, 1783.

AT noon we saw the great flag at Old Woman's Island, six leagues a stern, and at 3 P. M. the island of Bombay was out of sight.

We now proceeded with favourable wind, and calm weather, for Europe, with the *three Sisters, and Eagle in company, and without a convoy, to traverse full fifteen thousand miles, in the deep waters, exposed continually to the danger of falling in with the Mahrattas, the Dutch, the Spaniards, or the French—but our first and greatest fear was on the position of the Mahrattas, who had extended their hostile preparations at this period, to the Northward of the city of Goa: we were in constant danger of being attacked by them, and in that case, we should have been brought to the alternative of giving them battle, or of giving up ourselves and ship.

We were sensible of our inability to the *former*, and we had now some reason to fear that there was a necessity,

* O what want of policy and attention in our rulers, to send three old, defenceless vessels, with decayed bottoms, on so long and truly hazardous a passage, *in time of war*, with a very scanty quantum of provisions, and the Monsoons approaching.

for

for our submitting to the *latter*; for on the dawn of the next day, after we sailed from Bombay, we discovered a large ship in towards the shore—she tacked and stood after us, and gave us much ground to apprehend that she was our adversary. On a nearer approach, however, the ship proved to be a friend; and hoisting Portuguese colours, hailed us, and informed the captain they were bound for Bombay: this insured us a momentary relief from our fears, and indeed only momentary; for sailing along shore, and passing by Alguarda fort, the factory of Rajapour lying about fourteen miles Northward of the city of Goa, we opened a fine spacious Bay; at first we saw nothing but the smooth and still water, with the perspective of a group of most charming hills, and a very fertile country, but, sailing on, we soon brought to our view, a squadron of these Mahratta ships of war; off we steered, and they soon slipped their cables and followed us; but the *Content*, *Three Sisters* and *Eagle* soon left them a stern, and presently out of sight.—The same day, the 28th, we made the land again, which proved to be the island and city of Goa, the capital of the Portuguese settlements. Into this harbour we ran for shelter; nor did we, from the moment we left the Mahrattas a-stern, ever behold them again.

The city of Goa, is of all those either on the coast of Malabar or Coromandel, the most handsome and well built, and approaches most nearly to the model and beauty of the city of Venice, than any city in India. On the S. W. side of the harbour, stands a stately and conspicuous monastery, and on the N. W. side, a very large and formidable fort.—It has upwards of 80 spired churches, many whereof belong to the Protestants—The inhabitants are strongly wedded

wedded to the spirit of money-getting, but differing from the maxims of those Portuguese, we have elsewhere mentioned; these glory in getting theirs honestly. They are fond of traffic; for they buy and sell almost every thing that may be brought into port by ships and vessels of every description—Take an instance.

When our ship and the three Sisters, had taken and plundered the village of Merzee, at the time of the reduction of Mangulore, the agent and captain possessed themselves of an immense quantity of spikes, the shortest of which, measured two feet. The natives of Goa seeing some of them on shore, demanded if they were to be sold—the man replied in the affirmative; but he durst not sell them, because they were the property of the agent; the European, however, tho' in a distant land, possessing as keen a relish for a neat little pig, as if he were the parson of some parish in his own country, and thinking at the same time, that a second plunder is not more iniquitous than the first, and especially considering that one spike would not visibly decrease the stock of plunder, proposed to sell one of these spikes, which was agreed to: and for one spike (such was the value of this iron, commonly at this place) he received in exchange a small pig; we now took the advantage of the moment, and bringing all these spikes on shore, that we had severally appropriated to our own use, we bartered with the natives, and for each small spike, we got a small pig; and for each larger and longer one, a tolerably large hog. 'Twas here we almost loaded our ship, with pigs and poultry, and although the iron was for the greater part, the property of the agent and captain, yet before we quitted this land of plenty, we had as many pigs as there were men on board.

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At this City, wine was so cheap, that every seaman got plenty of it, but the bottles being broken in consequence of the violent motion of the ship, the poor fellows lost the greater part of it; it was a *pity*, but a greater *wonder*, that they did not use a timely and natural precaution to prevent this accident, by drinking off every bottle the hour they got it on board, or rather, as soon as they had purchased it.

Whilst we were riding at anchor in this bay, four Portuguese East India ships arrived from Bombay, and one of them in particular, came and anchored close along side of ours: this was the same ship that lay in Bombay harbour several years, and was moored therein the whole of our stay there. Something very remarkable and not less ludicrous has been mentioned respecting this ship.—The owner of her, a Parsee, whose name was Dada Nasserwanjee, or Muncherjee Jeevanjee, the most wealthy black merchant on the coast of Malabar, found it impossible to hire any seamen, either Europeans or Lascars, to enter on board, by reason of a report that was noised abroad, and which met with universal credit, viz. that she was haunted; and the propagators of this invidious tale, named it “the devil ship.” The prevalence of this fiction operated so powerfully on the minds of many, as totally to hinder some poor half-starved creatures from employing their time and getting a morsel of bread. It also caused a total stagnation in the commerce of this India merchant with his factories in the Chinese, Persian and Arabian seas.

Being pretty well stocked with fresh provisions, we weighed anchor and sailed from Goa, shaping our course for Europe. Meeting with variable winds and unsettled weather,

weather, we were much impeded in our progress, and the idea of being once more short of provision and water, before we could possibly reach England, counterbalanced the pleasure we felt at the comforting reflection of being homeward bound; this apprehension was too soon realized, as I shall hereafter observe; at present it is my intention to solicit the patience of my reader, whilst I plainly relate such things as by mere accident presented themselves to my observation, in pursuing our course from Goa to the island of Madagascar.

In the beginning of the month of May, we found ourselves near the island of Ceylon. At this time it was impossible not to take notice of the immense shoals of porpoises that were continually swimming at the bows and athwart the ship. Here we perceived on our larboard beam, about two miles off, a prodigious number of these fish leaping several feet out of water, and speeding their course to meet another division of their finny tribe, which leaped equally high, and sped with equal swiftness to meet their opponents. As soon as they had joined, I clearly perceived them leaping out of the water, and smacking their tails against each others body for upwards of ten minutes. The agent, the captain, and all hands were highly gratified at the sight, whilst an honest North Briton, who was a passenger, called up his wife from between decks, "to behold the *mickle beasts*" as he termed them,—When the apparent contest was ended, they directed their course towards our ships, and as they, with the dolphins, are sworn foes to the flying fish, they pursued several of them towards the Content, when about eight or ten of them, to avoid their devourers, flew over the spars that were lashed to the gunnel of the main deck, and alighted

on board the ship in safety. These served for baits to catch sharks and dolphins, and one of the men having fixed a flying fish on the hook, in about a quarter of an hour caught a small shark. When it was hauled on board, Captain Armstrong, of the Providence Store Ship, which came from England with us, but which was wrecked in the East Indies, as soon as he had assisted in hauling it on board, ran away and left it, ingenuously declaring that he was afraid of its giving him a gripe of the leg. Such a master mariner I never saw before—nor, I suppose, any body else. What adds to the singularity of this circumstance is, the bold Captain, before this voyage, commanded a ship in the Greenland service for a series of years.

The boatswain of our ship, whose name was Richard Laverick, evinced the same spirit (I should have said the same want of spirit) as his friend Armstrong: this man also held the important office of harpooner in the Greenland Fishery. Laverick, on seeing, one day, a devil-fish, as it is termed, swimming under the starboard quarter of the ship, with the agent's permission, hoisted out the jolly boat, and took with him the grains or fish dart, with two lads to assist him in his intended exploit, and about seventy fathoms of log line. All being now ready, he made towards this devil-fish—it was, with the greatest propriety, stiled a devil-fish, for of all the creatures I ever saw, whether of the human species or any other, none ever appeared so truly similar to the general representation of the devil as this fish. It had two very large black wings, which were kept constantly waving, and frequently it discovered its belly which was as white as snow, with two large guard fish, the one on its left wing and the other on its right.—It had also two large horns which grew from under its head

head, and which, tho' of a very different kind, were full as large as those of an ox—the boatswain willing to present us with a specimen of his talents, as a harpooner, attacked this ugly monster at its head, and with a self-applauding smile, would assure us of his lodging the grains in its body;—but, unfortunately, tho' he threw the weapon with a deal of steady aim, and with all his might, yet, large and close to the boat as the creature was, he missed it: the line having got entangled between its horns, and the bight of the line having taken an accidental turn round the ring of the stern, the voracious creature was immediately canted upon it's back, and with its spreading wings, beat up a most violent surf—struggling to extricate itself, it turned on its belly again, and swimming along with incredible swiftness, drew the boat with the boatswain and the two lads, at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour*—All hands from the other ships were perceived to look at this prodigy, the boat gliding along in a calm, without sails or oars, and with that wond'rous celerity—The consequence of this affair was, that the boatswain, (*that* skilful and experienced harpooner) lost a great deal, for he not only lost the object of his enterprize, together with the grains or dart, and near 70 fathoms of log line, but he lost his credit, and was heartily laughed at; and worse still—he almost lost his own life—thro' fear. Had this monster

* It was now a calm, and nothing was heard but the continual flapping of the sails of each ship against their masts, occasioned by the mountainous swell of the sea, which is often more destructive to the masts and sails, than if it were a stiff gale of wind—but we lay like three floating logs on the water, not moving more than a quarter of a mile per hour.

of a fish taken a downward direction, beyond all doubt, it would have drawn the jolly boat down with it, but the manner in which the boat was extricated, was, to the nearest of my recollection, by the sudden force with which the fish dragged it against one of the ships, by which accident the line was snapped. The men were saved, tho' the boat was dashed to pieces.—This was the curious effect of our having to do with the devil, although he came to us in the shape of a fish. Let that deceiver, however, come in whatsoever shape he may please to assume, if we are not upon our guard, and do not take a better aim than our boat-swain did, he may perhaps foil us, as his representative did the harpooner.*

But waving this subject, so far, at least, as it alludes to the inhabitants of these watery regions, permit me to advert to that species of devils, which, though not possessing the exact features of satan himself, are equally savage, dangerous and vicious, with that arch-prince of the power of the air—that great author of all moral evil and mischief—I mean the accursed crew of our ship, which consisted of a motley groupe of English, Irish, Scotch, and Norwegian sailors, but the English and Irish (pardon me my countrymen for the harshness of the charge and admit it for the sake of its truth) the English and Irish, I say, were the most daring and turbulent of them all.

* If my reader is one of those who think it criminal, to indulge himself at any period, with a little levity, or a short deviation from his native gloominess; I may expect but little of his thanks for this ludicrous application; but if he is a son of Momus, I may perhaps receive his pardon.

The reason for my speaking in this manner concerning these men, is their conduct whilst on board, which broke forth into the most unheard of disorder and irregularity, until we arrived at a place, which enabled us to re-establish that most valuable of enjoyments, peace, by dispatching the principals of this infernal junto, and the abettors of tumult and disorder, to dwell with those, whose complexion of body, was more congenial with the dark souls of their European Guests. But that I may put the best face, even on the most unpardonable of offences, to mitigate the severity of the charge, I think it but just, that I should observe, that the chief stimulus to their conduct, was hunger,—this must therefore be allowed to operate as a palliation of those enormous outrages, which marked the line of their conduct, 'till our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, of which I shall take a little more notice hereafter. At present let me mention that we sailed from Bombay, with only nine months provisions, and the king's thrifty victuallers at that port, lent but a half-opened ear to the remonstrances of our agent, when he pressed them for a larger supply of beef and pork,—I say *beef and pork*, for bread we had scarcely any, and what we had was full of dust and weavels, and as for spirits, we had none; and our animal spirits were all very low, we were therefore under the necessity of contenting ourselves with the first quantity of provisions sent on board.*

The ships also, (viz. the *Content*, *Three Sisters* and the *Eagle*) underwent but a miserable reparation in their

* At Goa we purchased a few bags of biscuit, which tho' made of bran, was very sweet, and the best we could obtain at this place, or any other port in India, were we touched.

bottoms, except one, which had received a larger portion of the caulker's skill than the others. This being the situation of our little squadron, and having been now rather more than two months from Bombay, it appeared we drew near the coast of Mosambique.

At this time we not only experienced very boisterous unfetiled weather, but the wind became contrary; and not only now and then a storm, but that incessantly, so that we found that the agent, tho' a wicked man, was no bad prophet; when he observed to the victuallers at Bombay, that a passage round the Cape of Good Hope, by reason of the approaching Monsoons, was very doubtful, if not wholly impracticable. His predictions were now realized—the Monsoons were most awfully set in, and if we met with flattering, gentle gales, when drawing near the land, as soon as we stretched off again, which blew out at sea, prevented our making any progress, driving us down to leeward again: and now the impossibility of weathering the Cape, became evident: full three weeks our miserably battered ship was layed to under a reefed mizen and forestay sail—sometimes getting a little ground, but oftener losing it—the Three Sisters now began to pump very much, having sprung a leak, and the tempest increasing, the loud blasts of Boreas announcing speedy destruction, rolled away the top masts of the Three Sisters close to the caps--Although it was a perfect hurricane, and the heavy waves tossing us about to that degree, that

“ We reel'd and stagger'd to and fro

“ Like men with fumes of wine oppress,”

yet we instantly bore down, and hove out the signal for the Eagle to bear down also, in order to afford her some assistance,

ance; but before we came within hail of her, they had cleared the wreck, and the poor men had got to work at the pumps again, which were kept constantly employed, the leak having gained upon them. Now was the scene truly distressing! Who could behold, and not compassionate, the state of these poor men, fellow-creatures, and fellow-countrymen; the spirit of sensibility now begins to kindle within me, and I seem to behold them as I then did, exerting their utmost strength, straining every nerve, in the distant prospect of saving their sinking ship: for now the water began to gain upon them very fast, and the men being quite exhausted, could no longer work; but if they had been capable of working, their endeavours would have been utterly futile; the water having gained so very fast upon them, that the ship was truly water-logged. It is true, the poor fellows had a very generous and sympathising commander (Captain Hudson), who, with an unsparing hand, distributed to them every thing his store room afforded; yet his kind concern for them insured but little relief to their bodies, which were reduced very low. They now prepared to quit her; and the agent gave the signal for the Eagle, which was considerably to windward, to bear away and come down to save the crew and provisions, as it was expected the vessel could not remain above water more than twenty minutes. The Eagle instantly answered the signal, and bore down; when coming close to us, all our boats were hoisted out and sent to rescue the captain and men from their apparent watery grave. At the immediate risk of our own lives we ventured out to save theirs, whilst our *ship* could hardly live, much less our *boats*. When we had got them from the wreck, part of the people were taken on board the Content, and part on board

the Eagle : immediate destruction now presented itself to us at this critical juncture, especially to those in the boats. No pen can express, nor thought conceive, the horror that sat on each countenance, when, at a distance, we beheld our boat leaving the wreck, full of men, *now* mounting the summit of a lofty breaking sea, and the next moment swiftly hurled stem downwards into the green vale below. Surely, their situation was like standing on a tottering pinnacle, and on each side of them a boundless immensity. Awful however as this scene must appear to every human eye, I think it would give me much satisfaction to see it pictured by the pencil of a master, to the end that the retrospect of so great and singular a deliverance might operate as a never failing incentive to gratitude to the Supreme Being, whose omnipotent word checked the raging elements, and saved us from destruction. However, this scene, though it is some years since I viewed it with my bodily eyes, is not shut from the eye of my remembrance, and I believe, were I to live four-score years, it would not be erased from my memory.

The lives of the men being saved for the present, it was the principal object of the officers to devise a plan to save, if possible, some of the provision, for the ship had not yet gone down. The boat was therefore sent off again, and the helmsman sheered our ship as close to the Three Sisters as it was possible to go with any safety ; but alas, the adventurers could not find any thing that was salvable, except one cask of pork and a bag of biscuit ; having keenly searched the 'tween decks, they perceived fundry casks of beef and pork, and many bags of biscuit all under water ; finding it altogether useless to make any further attempts, they hastened on board the Content again with this pitiful quantity

quantity, one cask of pork and a bag of biscuit. It was now almost dark, and the Content rolled so violently, that the painter, or rope with which the boat was fastened, was suddenly broke; the provisions were not yet hoisted out of the boat, but the man who was flinging the cask for that purpose at the time the painter broke, called for another rope, or sternfast, which not being attended to, he providentially took a spring and caught hold of a rope's end which was hanging out of the mizen-chains, with which he hauled himself on board. The next minute the boat was a long way a stern, and the cask of pork and bag of biscuit with it, and no doubt became a pleasant meal for those creatures, who little expected a feast so little intended for them; the poor man was severely reproved by the greedy captain, though he was one of the men belonging to the Three Sisters, for deserting the boat even when it had broke adrift, as if the poor creature unassisted by the ship, could have prevented the fate that befel it; nay more, life was sweet, and though the losing it would have been matter of satisfaction to our satannical captain, as there would have been one mouth less to hasten the expenditure of the ship's provisions; yet the love of life prevailed, and every person on board, except that lump of misery, admired his remarkable agility and presence of mind, in saving himself, and particularly his fortitude and equanimity in submitting calmly to the load of abuse which that monster heaped upon him.

I now feel myself at a loss, not so much what to say in order to render a just description of the miseries we were doomed to experience, as what to leave unsaid, but as the reader perhaps enters into the same spirit with the writer, it may do away the necessity of my saying any thing fur-

ther to insure that credit to which every part of this narrative is justly intitled.

Next morning I went to the mast-head and looked around the horizon, but could see only a vast gathering of dark and threatening clouds—a dreadfully high and rolling sea, and the Eagle almost out of sight ;—the Three Sisters and her long boat had gone down in the night.

Having now, by the assistance of that being who sitteth above the waterfloods, saved the lives of this company of men from drowning, it was necessary that they should be saved from starving ; but this, it was imagined, could not be done, unless they would save our own ship's company a little of their toil and fatigue in pumping, and to assist occasionally, if not generally, in navigating and working the ship ; this, they conceived, they had no right to do, and therefore rejected the proposal ; contending that they had endured their share of that kind of labour before their own ship foundered ; and that we had taken them up as distressed, shipwrecked seamen, and in so doing we did no more than our duty ; a duty which one seaman owes another. Doubtless this was a great truth, but on considering the small quantity of provisions we had on board for our own consumption, their captain's argument should have yielded to imperious necessity. This being, however, matter of dispute between the officers of the Content, and those of the unhappy company of the Three Sisters, Chilton starting up in a pet, declared to them that if they would not reconcile themselves to the proposal made to them, they might (to use an expression peculiar to himself) starve and be d——d.

At this unexpected malediction the men were extremely
chagrined ;

chagrined ; but as their dernier resort, they agreed to work rather than starve, for as they justly observed, by working themselves to death, they could but die ; and now these poor creatures partaking the general toil insured some relief to our own crew, (and ours was a crew indeed.) The people saved, received an equal allowance of provisions with ourselves, which was three pounds of meat and four of biscuit per week. Full three days in each week, while we lay in this distress we ate nothing, for our allowance was commonly demolished on the third day after it was served, so that the sabbath day was a day of abstinence.

All this time we were wind bound, and experienced unceasing storms of wind, attended with thunder showers, but happily we did not part company with the Eagle. We had enough to do to keep our leaky ship above water, and had too great reason to expect our instant dissolution ; for, in addition to the help we derived from the people of the Three Sisters, both pumps were kept constantly at work. At this crisis, so pregnant with horror, each thought of lashing himself to the mast and resigning to his fate after all our efforts had apparently proved unavailable : the winds increased ; the rains descended in floods from the dismal clouds upon our heads, which had been plentifully soaked already by the briny waves that perpetually broke over the ship. The rumbling atmosphere—the dark impenetrable clouds—the frightful billows seemed combined against this wooden shell, and its little company of despairing mortals. Sound the pumps ! 'Tis done ! The leak gains on us fast, cries he that sounds them. Stand ready then, to cut away the masts, bellows out the Captain ; but his loud voice, aided by his trumpet, cannot be heard by the panic-struck crew at the distance of half a dozen

dozen yards. Terror and despair encompass us for several minutes; the vessel laying on her side is unmanageable; but the hurricane abating, the vessel rights a little; the masts are not cut away, but we have the mortification to see our foremast sprung, our top-gallant-masts carried away, our main-sail blown to pieces, our stay-sails torn out of the bolt-ropes; in a word, finding that this unusual gust of wind had made us a wreck, we could not resist the persuasion that we were in a condition similar to that of the Three Sisters some hours before she went to the bottom, and that the Content was on the eve of foundering. The Eagle, on the clearing up of the squall, came within hail, and our agent enquired into the state of that vessel. Captain Graves replied, that the Eagle was uncommonly leaky, and that both pumps were kept almost constantly going. What a situation! Here all our apprehensions were in a great degree confirmed: no thought can conceive the sensations of every mind. Now the most callous and profligate, the most depraved and vicious wretch on board, knew the humbling power of Omnipotence; for what each lip, even at this time refused to confess from motives of shame, our appalled countenances did not fail to declare. Should both ships have been lost, who could tell our parents, friends, or relations at home, what became of us? Who could let them know where we lost our lives? The navigators themselves could not then divine what latitude we were in, though we were supposed to be near the coast of Mosambique. Seven days had passed with clouded meridians, so that we had not a sight of the sun to take a proper observation, as the clouds were so thick that they hid defiance to his most powerful beams. All
that

that we could then possibly know was, that we were lying in the jaws of a watery grave, and we considered it a great indulgence if we got three hours rest out of the twenty-four. All this time I had no other cloathing upon my back than a wet jacket; for the vessel being nearly water-logged, every high sea washed over her, so that my clothes that were on my back, and my cot that was flung in my cabin, were constantly as wet as if they had been towed over-board; this I endured full three weeks successively: my fellow sufferers were not a whit better situated than myself.

It was at this perilous juncture that the agent, captain and mate with the consent of the respectable passengers we had the honor to receive on board at Bombay, came to a very serious resolution for the preservation of our lives and the two ships; at least to exert our power for that purpose; in order to this, it was observed by the agent, that as the men were completely worn out through fatigue by beating to windward so long a time, with a view to weather the Cape of Good Hope, and the prospects of effecting that grand object being then so very doubtful, it was judged expedient, nay absolutely necessary, to bear away for St Augustines Bay, in the island of Madagascar, though it was then distant from us nearly fifteen hundred miles. Hereupon one of the lads was inhumanly sent up to the mast head to hoist the signal for the Eagle to bear away with us for that island. The sea, at this time, ran higher than we ever knew it before, and the ship rolled more violently than I ever remember her to have done, and it was the general opinion of the officers, that if we had not borne away at the time we did, the ship with all her hands must have been swallowed up before the morning

morning, for, a night every way so dreadful, the oldest seaman on board had never witnessed; full ten hours, viz. from the time we bore away, until the dawn of the next day, the ship was put under her bare-poles, and under her bare-poles with not a stitch of canvass set, she scudded eight miles per hour. The Content now made a great deal of water again, owing to her straining with so much vehemence, when, by the pleasure of our injudicious officer, she was kept laying to so long, losing time and hurting the ship. Necessity compelled him, however, to bear away at last; and now we burnt a blue light over the stern, that the Eagle, should she happen to be above water might see it, and direct her course towards us. This had its desired effect, and the next morning we found that vessel near us. Before day light the wind abated, and at ten o'clock ante-meridian it became moderate, so that the knights of the quadrant once more flattered themselves that at twelve o'clock they might be enabled to catch the sun, and thereby learn in what quarter of the Mosambique channel the ship then was, for we had steered N. E. and N. E. by E. and sometimes N. E. by N. which was a north-east course ever since we had borne away; the weather was still favorable, and continued so 'till noon, and at that period the sun was unclouded, and so it remained until it dipt. We now found that by a lee current, and the prodigious lee way the ship had made whilst laying to, we were driven some degrees nearer the coast of the island of Madagascar than we had any reason to expect, while we were in the midst of the dangerous Monsoons.

Just after we were permitted by the weather to take a solar observation; the scene was again suddenly changed,
and

and once more we were buried in the dark night of anguish and despair ; for

“ Now blackest clouds, that all the skies invade,
 “ Drew o’er the sun’s bright orb a dismal shade.”

And although it was clear and calm just before noon, yet we found by woeful experience, that a change of wind brought on a change of weather, which instantaneously came upon us, and filled with terror the minds of the most undaunted men on board. Dark and dismal was the scene all around the horizon ; and although, during the interval of the wind’s variation, the air was serene, and the weather calm, yet as we were all apprehensive it would not long continue so, all hands, after having half an hour’s rest, were summoned from below to take in the sails, which were then close reefed ; and to make the ship, in all points, as secure as possible against the threatened hurricane : but how weak and ineffectual were our endeavours ; casting my eyes to windward, I beheld a scene which beggars description ; the impetuous storm

Resistless came, and now with foaming sweep
 Upturn’d the whiten’d surface of the deep.

Now were our dreary forebodings realized ; we had no back doors by which to escape, nor had we the eagle’s pinions to fly from the imminent dangers which threatened us ; so that our situation is not ill described in the following quotation from a British tar.

1
 “ In vain we fled the approaching ill,
 “ Whilst danger multiplied it’s form ;
 “ Expos’d we run like Jonah still,

S

“ And

“ And Heaven, when 'tis Heaven's will,
“ O'ertakes us in the storm.

2

“ The distant surge all foaming white,
“ Foretold a furious blast;
“ Dreadful, tho' distant was the fight,
“ Confed'rate winds and waves unite,
“ And menace every mast.

3

“ The faithless flood forsook the keel,
“ And downward launch'd the lab'ring hull;
“ Stunn'd, she forgot awhile to reel,
“ And felt, or rather seem'd to feel,
“ A momentary lull.

4

“ Strip'd of her pride the vessel rolls,
“ As if by sympathy she knew
“ The secret anguish of our souls;
“ With inward, deeper groans condole
“ The dangers of her crew

Now

5

“ Now what avail’d it to be brave,
“ On liquid precipices hung;
“ Suspended on a breaking wave,
“ Beneath us yawn’d a sea-green grave,
“ Which silenc’d every tongue.

6

“ Thus in the jaws of death we lay,
“ Nor light, nor comfort found we there ;
“ Lost in the gulph, to floods a prey,
“ No sun to cheer us, nor a ray
“ Of hope, but in despair.

7

“ The seas encouraged this despair,
“ Whilst certain ruin waits on land ;
“ Should we direct our wishes there,
“ Soon we recal the fatal prayer,
“ And wish to shun the strand.

8

“ At length a being, whose behest
“ Reduc’d a chaos into form ;
“ His goodness and his power confess’d,
“ He spake ; and like a God suppress’d
“ Our troubles and the storm.

On the abating of this dreadful hurricane, we each, officers and men alike, exerted ourselves to the very utmost of our power to run the ship out of the latitude of the monsoons: for this purpose every stitch of canvass was set, every possible breeze of wind was caught; but here, although we were in a great degree out of them, and the recent tempest was not a regular, but an unexpected and casual visitation, yet the wind became adverse, and obliged us to tack and wear continually, until we had fetched the island of Madagascar, which, on the morning of the first of September 1783, we discovered right a-head, distant about five leagues.

It was seen from off the deck on that beloved morning, just as the rising sun appeared above the eastern horizon; the much wish'd for land bearing E. by S. the perspective at that early hour was grand and beautiful beyond all comparison; the appearance of the land itself was truly attractive, whilst the clouds above, all tinged with solar fire, resembling numberless spangles of gold, exhibited a scene more enchantingly serene than the most lively imagination could ever picture to those who were not the highly favored spectators.

As the sun advanced, this almost celestial prospect died away, and having the wind rather favorable, our helmsman steered in directly for the haven, and a little before twelve o'clock, we opened the bay of St. Augustin, where the ship was brought to good anchorage. Hardly was the anchor gone before we were visited by near twenty canoes, full of the inhabitants and their wives; with them they brought on board a great variety of the produce of the land, in order to trade with us, or barter for such articles as we possessed. The commodities they dealt in, though of a different specie from ours, were, like them, calculated for that prime object, the belly. Their goods consisted of an abundant variety

variety of eatables, particularly tropical fruits, viz. yams, tamarinds, plaintains, bananas, cocoa nuts, sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, oranges and honey, besides great plenty of animals which principally consisted of monkeys and mocoeks. Probably I may be allowed to drop a few words on the properties of the mocoek. This curious animal differs but little from that well known creature of mischief the Monkey, in point of sagacity, and the form of its body, but differs materially with respect to disposition; being gentle, harmless and pacific; the tail of the former, like that of all other monkeys, is what all the world knows it to be, but the tail of the mocoek, is the most beautiful that can be imagined, being nearly twice the length of the whole body, checquered regularly with black and white; of this peculiar gift of nature, the mocoek seems not a little proud, and by twirling it round his arms and clenching his almost human fingers, seems to discover an inclination to invite his companions to combat; but this with so little ferocity, that it is evident it arises merely from the sportiveness of his temper. Let the modern knights of the knuckle; those pests of human society; those nefarious disturbers of public peace, who disgrace the country, as well as the age they live in, let them (if their depraved nature will permit them) model their conduct according to the example held out to them, even by the brute creation; and learn in their pugilistic games, to treat each other as rational creatures; and not fell their antagonists to the ground, as if they were oxen appointed for the slaughter.

The ship being now moored in the bay of St Augustin, all hands (the crew of the late Three Sisters as well as that of our own ship) set about repairing the alarming damages we had sustained, which damages lay not so much in the masts, rigging and sails, as in the beams and bottom of the ship, which was the more material part, and demanded

manded our more particular attention, if we wished ever to revisit our native country. For this purpose, the captain went on shore to discover, if possible, a sandy landing place, for the more conveniently and safely hauling the ship on shore: such a spot, after a most toilsome search, he found, and returning hastily on board, he ordered that the ship might be laid thereon. After inconceivable difficulty and delay, this great work was at length effected, and the carpenters of the Content and Three Sisters fell to work, and in the course of six weeks, with the assistance of a few black mates, who voluntarily tendered their services, the old weather beaten timbers were made tolerably strong and substantial; for although we had been from Bombay, (where the vessel went through a thorough repair), only five months, yet as her timbers were almost thirty years old, and had been driven and dashed about in the manner described in the preceding pages, it had become indispensably requisite to keep her from falling to pieces in the storms which must necessarily await her between that island, and the completion of her voyage to Europe; although there were but very few on board who entertained the expectation of ever arriving there; nor indeed was there one favourable circumstance that would justify such a hope; even the inhabitants (savages they are called) seemed by their gestures, to express a concern for our misfortune in having so miserable an old bottom to carry a number of men, or in which to venture their lives, through the most dangerous and difficult seas in the universe. The natives of the place gave us to understand, that, they conceived themselves safer in one of their canoes, should it happen to be exposed to the clashing elements at sea, than the adventurous Europeans could possibly

possibly be in the ship, intended for Europe. What could be done in this case? What, but submit contentedly to our fate! We had no alternative but to risk our lives in this crazy vessel, or take up our final residence on the shore; and rather than resort to that, we chose, notwithstanding the apparent civility, and kindness of the natives, who most earnestly intreated us so to do, to proceed to our native country, under these accumulated discouragements.

Three of our crew, however, whose names were Howard, Macfarlan, and Waters, with the carpenter of the Three Sisters, whose name was Haswell, did take up their abode on the island, and in a short time proved, at the expence of their lives, the insidious disposition of the natives: but, first, it is proper for me to assign the reason for their changing their situation, which was not merely their bad conduct whilst at sea, the chief cause was this:—the blacks, as I have before noticed, were most passionately fond of trading with our men, or in trucking their commodities, both animal and vegetable, for such things as we were possessed of. Among these was that truly valuable article gunpowder, and of this we had but little, which made that little still more valuable. One of these black merchants, however, not very scrupulous with respect to the means by which he might obtain a quantity of this gunpowder, thought that as the great guns were loaded, his coming alongside in a canoe at the dead of night (when, as he foolishly supposed, all hands would be asleep), and drawing the guns, he might effect his thievish purposes; but here it would be worth while to observe the cunning of these fellows: this dingy knave, from a supposition that in his attempts to steal the cartridges, he might probably
be

be detected, and willing to guard against the penalty annexed to these mal-practises, instantly came on board with some of the fruit of the land, and using them as a feint, pretended he brought them to sell to us; the gentleman artfully proposed to those who kept watch upon deck, at that hour of the night, to make them a present of several mocoeks and monkeys, with many other articles of a most tempting description, if they would procure him some gunpowder; the men who had then the watch upon deck, were those three unhappy persons, Howard, Macfarlan, and Waters, and as they were as eminent rogues as the blacks themselves, refusing to comply with this most guilty request, would be to forego the seducing offers, held out to them as the price of their villainy; they therefore accepted the black's proposal, and immediately drew all the six pound cartridges from every gun that was loaded, except one that was fixed in the mate's cabin, and gave them to the black, who with that honour, which to a proverb, prevails among thieves, fulfilled his engagement; but what rendered this bad transaction still more flagrant on the part of the Europeans, was their feeling themselves dissatisfied with receiving every thing the black possessed, except a small callibash of honey: they then insisted on his delivering up that also, or he should return the powder to them; this demand was accompanied by a threat to throw him overboard, in case he attempted any resistance: the black rogue then gave the white rogues the callibash of honey, and afterwards made off for the shore, in his canoe. Next morning this identical genius came on board again, in the hopes of obtaining more gunpowder, or a supply of other articles from his white correspondents; meanwhile, William James, the mate, having learnt that the King of
Baba

Baba was on the point of paying our agent a royal visit, ordered the men to fire a salute of eight guns, when, to the astonishment of every one on board, who knew the guns had been loaded, only one cannon made a report; the other seven had no more powder in them than what was contained in the tube, and these went off with a fiz!

Now as the guns were loaded the day before with powder and wadd, the mate soon suspected, not only the iniquity, but even the men who had been guilty of it: they were accordingly called aft, and on being arraigned, and the accusation levelled at them, they would have impudently denied it, had not the receiver * testified strongly against them. Hereupon, the most daring of these fellows (Howard) was thrust down into the 'tween decks, and there put in irons. Just as this was done, his two brethren, Waters and M-Farlan, with the utmost rage ran down below, and with an iron crow broke the fetters and released him. Being liberated, he came upon deck, presented the irons to the mate, and threw them overboard in his presence, declaring, that if he (the mate) did not go out of his sight, he would dispatch him after them. Here timely assistance was had from the Eagle, and these three demoniacs were turned on shore, there to pass the residue of their guilty existence.

The day appointed for the King of Baba's repairing on board being arrived, the cabin passengers and all the officers prepared themselves for his reception. At noon

* The black having been detected with a cartridge in his cloutee, confirmed the suspicion.

he came on board, attended by full fifty of his nobles, and a vast retinue of commoners. Among this curious assembly were several, who, when English vessels had formerly put in here, had received the royal titles of Prince George, Duke of York, Duke of Cumberland, Prince Ferdinand, &c. and one of them had actually stiled himself Sir Isaac Newton, nor would the two-legged animal answer to any other name. Among the class of commoners we noticed Robin Hood, Will Scarlet, and Little John. Truly, we hated our guests, for there were one hundred and thirty on board, all, no doubt, possessing kindred savage blood, from his Majesty to the meanest of his subjects, each well fortified with a species of oriental panoply, and furnished with weapons *offensive* and *defensive*. Here, to be sure, our interest and safety were concerned in treating these creatures with all possible civility, though they understood the meaning of European civility and politeness just as much as an ox understands mathematics. The King and some of his favorites fared very sumptuously, but the major part of them returned on shore just as they came on board—they had not a mouthful.

After the King, and as many of these personages as could conveniently adorn the table, had dined, the Agent, ostentatiously to give a token of English generosity, made his majesty a present of a second-hand imperial blue silk coat (the common apparel in India) which, among other articles, of cloathing, he (the agent) had half worn out, and which, had he not presented it to the King, would have become the property of the cabin boy. With this the King was highly pleased, and discovered his joy by dancing with his attendants in the cabin; and

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I must confess, the jig was both lively and scientific; I now thought that if there had been one person on board, whose mind had been full of sorrow, the spirits of such person must have been irresistibly carried even to the highest pitch of immoderate mirth, in beholding the figure the King made with his black, woolly, mop-like head, and a silk coat on his otherwise naked back, which, he being a lean, lanky, fellow, and the agent a very corpulent one, sat on him like a purser's shirt on a handspike, whilst the others, who mingled in the dance, filled the cabin with drollery, and excited in the officers a degree of risibility beyond description. This done, our most august visitant, without making (even by his motions) any sort of acknowledgment, or shewing the least token of gratitude for the entertainment, the banquet and the gift went upon deck, followed by his naked train of satellites, who all went down the gangway of the ship, into their canoes, without taking any more notice of the officers and gentlemen passengers, than if there had not been a man on board. The black potentate, however, let himself down very much, as he was preparing to leave the ship; for descending the gangway to step into his canoe, notwithstanding the greatest care and attention was paid him by his attendants, yet, his foot slipping off the gangway-step, he let himself into the water, and it was one of the chief of miracles that he was not sucked under the ship's bottom. Two of the princes and the aforesaid Sir Isaac, plunged themselves down after him, and with great difficulty and hazard, fetched their monarch up again. The greatest evil and misfortune that attended the King's sudden and undesigned immersion, was the injury the garment sustained, which

had been given him by the agent, and for which the poor disappointed cabin boy heaped on his royal head, the plenitude of curses. The coat was entirely spoiled. He was then paddled on shore by two of his subjects, and on his landing, he evinced that the savage breast was not altogether impervious to the emotions of generosity to their own people. In proof of this, he commanded that a large ox of his own (of which there were many scores grazing) should be brought before him, and set at the distance of about forty yards, that he might shoot it himself, and afterwards give it distributively to the penurious class of his subjects, who, (to use an expression of a learned judge) were in a "state of starvation."....The king accordingly shot at the ox, and brought it to the ground: the poor hunger-bitten creatures were now invited to cut it up, and as they knew not how to divide it, in due proportion to each individual, one took to himself more than his share, whilst some came off with a mouthful, and many with none at all. All this time I was stationed on shore, to guard the water casks and tents against the depredations of the natives, who were comparatively speaking, as thick as the sand on the beach, and every one of them furnished with a bow and arrow, and a lance; here then, my kind reader, (who is certainly better situated in reading these lines than in experiencing the subject of them) may form some idea of what my feelings and apprehensions were in this singular and most perilous predicament; nor was my astonishment less, when I beheld their manner of cutting up the animal, thus given, prepared and butchered for them, by their King. I shall here attempt to describe it.

No sooner was the beast killed, than, as I mentioned before, the poor starving creatures attacked it: the first that came with his lance, cut a piece off the flank; another cut a large piece of the buttock—a third took a great piece from the neck—a fourth cut off the tail, and made off with that for his share—a fifth lopped off, and ran away with both the ears, whilst a sixth, of a nicer palate than the rest, cut away about half the tongue; soon, however, it was totally demolished, nor did they leave a morsel even of the hide, for one who was, at that time, as nearly famished as the most of these poor creatures. After they had thus divided the ox among themselves, they began to cook their respective portions, and this they did in a few earthen vessels, which some of the better sort possessed. Here they acted agreeable to the old adage “what won’t poison will fatten,” and that it certainly would, had there been plenty of it; they therefore made a large fire, and filling these old cracked earthen vessels with water, put the beef, (and better beef was never put into the mouth of man) with the hide, hair, blood, sand and dirt, into their curious pipkins, and before the water was quite hot, they imagined it done, and so it was for them, for they all, at least those whose vessels did not break, and before the water was hot let it into the fire, those, I say who escaped this kind of accident, ate up their beef just as raw as when they first put it into their vessels; without any vegetables, and never wiped their mouths, though the hairs of the hide, which, with their sharp teeth they chew’d with much ease, formed a circle round their black mouths, not unlike a yellow beard. Thus much for the method of these inhabitants of Madagascar in their course of diet.

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It was at this time I was stationed on shore for the purpose of protecting the tents and their contents, against this designing horde of plunderers; as their honesty we had every reason to doubt, since they so successfully executed their powder plot. Full three days successively, the wind blew a perfect hurricane, which prevented the boat landing to afford me any relief. This was truly a dog's life;—hunger and ease were my portion during that time, and enjoyed as much sleep as food, for it was at my peril to sleep, for the reason just mentioned. On the third day of my being on shore, two canoes laden with fish came to the beach, and I hastily lent the black fishermen a hand to land their cargo. No sooner was the canoe cleared, than they began to make a large fire, and around it they fixed in the ground forty or fifty thin sticks or laths, each of which was filled with these fish from top to bottom; the length of each stick being about nine feet. What an excellent contrivance was this! As soon as one side of the fish was roasted (which through the extreme heat of the fire, was not more than three minutes), they turned the sticks, that the other side might be done also: then all the sticks were taken down, and the roasted fish thrown on the sandy ground; and this, as I understood, was their usual method. After this, one of these black, but commiserating fishermen, threw me a couple of fish, which I construed as a requital for my assistance in hauling them on shore. Covered as they were with sand, my appetite was so uncommonly sharp, having tasted nothing but a few sweet potatoes since I had been on shore, that I ate them up in two minutes, regardless of the bones and sand, with which, however, my throat was pretty well scrubbed, notwithstanding my utter aversion to fish, since the forced,

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and sickening meals I was doomed to make of them whilst in Arabia.

Night coming on, and the gale from the north-west, still continuing with unabating violence, I found my situation, from little rest and want of food, truly distressing. One of the natives seeing me stand shivering and shaking like a cloth in the wind, made a fire for me, and in their own language, and by their gesticulations invited me to sit by it, whilst they intended, as I imagined, to go and fetch me something to eat; they went, and shortly returned with a quantity of sweet potatoes, on which I made a most exquisite supper. I sat in the tent eating what the blacks had procured me, with no less pleasure, for the moment, than if I had been seated at the table of a monarch, and my food was as palatable as the most refined luxuries of a Nabob.* Every one can tell, because every one has known, in a larger or less degree, that

“ Bitterness before the sweet,

“ Makes the sweet the sweeter :”

But my transient pleasure was nothing more than the harbinger of pain. Ten or a dozen of the natives were sitting around me, whether to contemplate the contrast

* In the 11th century one of the Nabobs of the east, a true disciple of Epicurus, was one day reproved by a female companion of his, for his remarkable luxurious mode of living, as he seldom made any festival but a hundred peacocks were sacrificed to his pride and self-indulgence, that their brains might be served up as the prime dish.—Hold your peace, replies the Nabob, by making my throat the channel of luxury, you think not how many peacocks, with the exception of their brains, I give away to my poor and needy vassals towards their support and comfort.

between

between their skin and mine, or whether artfully to watch a favorable opportunity to stab me under the fifth rib, I could not possibly divine. My guests, however, soon talked and laughed me off my guard, and with infinite cunning drew their unwary tool into a persuasion of their sincerity, by giving me to understand that if I wanted a little sleep I might place a firm dependance on their attention to the fire, which they would take care to keep in,* and also prevent any danger happening to the tent, which then was my *sanctum sanctorum*, until I might awake. Their apparent sincerity, added to my extreme want of rest, induced me to accept their proffered services. I then went to sleep (it being the third night since I had enjoyed a single wink) in the hope of awaking again in about two hours. Whilst I was in the midst of a sweet and profound sleep, on the bare ground, I dreamed, but dreamed not what these black centinels were employed in, though close to my head: instead of sleeping two hours only, I slept from tea at night until nine the next morning, and when I awoke, merciful God! what an alteration did I behold! Not only had these arch dissemblers put out the fire, but they had cut away almost the whole tent, which was made of the only maintop-sail our ship had; almost all the iron hoops were knocked off the casks, and the casks rolled into the sea, which I beheld with increased chagrin, floating about the bay, whilst thousands of these

* Fires are kept in all night to prevent the incursions of the alligators, and other animals of prey, who, at the sight of a fire are instantly struck with fear, and always keep their distance. An instance of this happened whilst some of our officers were on shore, who heard their dismal yells, but seeing the fire they durst not approach.

formidable sons of cruelty and deceit, all armed with glittering lances, that reflected terror in my eyes, were patrolling from one extremity of the shore to the other. All this time, I lay alone fast asleep on the open beach (the tent having been stolen away), exposed to their mercy : and not merely to theirs, but also to that of the voracious beasts that inhabit the woods, and not unfrequently prowl about for human prey : what wonder, that when the fire was extinguished, these rapacious creatures did not come and seize their mouthful ! Let those who deny the interposition of a Divine Being in the order, safety and welfare of his creatures below, and attribute all the good they enjoy, or evil they undergo, to an imaginary something that they call fate, and sometimes chance : let those, I say, who think differently from me, in this matter, deride my notions as an idle piece of superstition and puerility ; as for myself, in spite of the supercilious sneers of such sceptics, I do, and ever will ascribe my preservation, in several great and imminent dangers, to the intervention of that Being, without whose knowledge and permission, not a sparrow falls to the ground.

To return to my narrative, to heighten my trouble, and increase my fears, soon after sleep had left my eyelids, I perceived the boat, with the captain and four hands hastening to the shore, as the gale had ceased in the night, and the lamp of day, which alike shines without discrimination, on the Christian and on the Savage, was now blazing in its orient splendour ; but whilst I viewed its rising beams, it failed to raise my depressed spirits. Chilton, on landing, his eyes fraught with infernal malice, demanded of me where the tent was removed to ? I replied,

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that the black savages had removed it whilst I was answering the call of Nature, in taking a few hours rest, and therefore, they were the most capable of affording the desired information. The white savage, whitened yet more with rage and madness for the loss of the tent, hoops, &c. after vomiting forth many threats for my attending to the calls of Dame Nature, instead of keeping a vigilant eye on my charge, ordered me into the boat, and when I was gotten on board, he submitted to the agent, who, in his official capacity, took the lead of the captain, being a King's officer and commander in chief of the squadron of victuallers, whether he did not think my demerits, in permitting the blacks to steal the tent, hoops, &c. which were the King's property, whilst I was stationed on shore to protect them, did not render me obnoxious to punishment. The agent, who had long sought an opportunity to repay the rebuff he experienced from my father at Bombay, by an unmanly retaliation, under the semblance of justice, cheefully answered in the affirmative. I was then lashed to the gun, and underwent a flagellation equivalent to the enormity of my crime, whilst my cruel and most inveterate foe, William James, the mate, thought my punishment hardly sufficient to atone for my fault, when he considered the magnitude of the loss; but there were those on board, who, though they were not the most sympathetic of my countrymen, differed in opinion from the mate. Suffice it, however, to say, this most unkind, this most unjust, this most depraved triumvirate, Chilton James, and the agent, viewing the insulted victim of their malice, and of their misguided authority, lashed most unmercifully, under the
weighty

weighty stroke of a sanguinary boatswain, shedding his blood, seemed pleased at their heart with the atonement they had thus wantonly forced me to make.

Two or three days afterwards, I was ordered on shore again, whilst another tent was erected for the use of the cabin passengers, and in the same unworthy department I went before, only with this difference; instead of watching over a parcel of empty casks, I was sent to wait on the red coats, a motly group of second-hand officers, and at convenient intervals, to fetch provender and water for a buffalo, which Chilton had purchased for the use of the ship's crew while I was on shore, and which beast cost him only a dollar; Robin Hood, the merchant, of whom he purchased it, having but a very superficial knowledge of the difference of value between gold and silver, and knowing they were both precious metal, agreed to sell the captain one of his buffaloes for a guinea; just as Chilton was taking out his purse to pay Robin Hood the purchase money, he accidentally dropt a dollar on the ground, when master Robin Hood, thought that as the dollar was the larger, it was consequently of more value, he therefore picked it up, and ran off, leaving it difficult to determine which was more conspicuous in his rare genius, his ignorance, or his knavery.

The buffalo being both small and lean, Chilton ordered that it should be kept on shore, in order that it might get if possible, a little increase of substance; and I, as I before hinted, was appointed its attendant, although, poor creature, I gave it but small attendance, my attention being continually engaged by the Whites in their tent, and that with a forced diligence, a diligence that proceeded not

from love to them, but from a fear of them, a fear far more hostile to the peace of my mind, than the servility of my occupation was to the ease of my body.

I come now to the sequel of this account. The cook of our ship, who had united in his own person the joint offices of cook and butcher, and whose name was John Mitchell, a German by birth, by profession a zootomist; and at this day lives in East Smithfield, where he exercises the trade of zootomy. This man, after the ox had been grazing on shore for two or three days, was sent by the captain to kill it for immediate use, and in his method of killing it, he was peculiarly skilful: on applying the knife behind the left horn, and thrusting it to the brain, the animal fell, gave a few struggles and life was gone; in one of its struggles it shook the knife out of Mitchell's hand, and as I was standing about four yards off to observe the operation, the knife coming with some force, struck me across my right leg, about six inches below my knee; I instantly fell to the ground, but did not, at that moment apprehend that I was otherwise hurt than the handle of the knife hitting my leg. In half a minute, however, I found that the edge of the blade had entered, and as I arose, I drew up the leg of my trowsers, and pressing with my natural weight on my right leg, it sent forth a copious stream to the distance of two yards and upwards, which mingled with the blood of the ox.* Finding that a blood

*This sudden casualty I have ever since considered as a just retribution for my shamefully neglecting the poor dumb animal, in not supplying it with sufficient water, although that neglect arose not so much from want of thought, or inclination, as from the difficulties and dangers I had to encounter in going more than two miles barefooted, over rocks and burning sands to fetch it,

vessel was cut, I requested two of the blacks to help me into our boat, which was then a shore; they did so, and I was rowed on board the Eagle, where a French surgeon, who was a passenger from India, after putting his skill and ability to the rack, effected a cure: the difficulty the doctor found was owing to the continual discharge of blood, for my leg was no sooner cleared of it than it was covered again, and that, more than a dozen times. Suffice it, however, to say, the wound created the most lively sensation of agony, and compelled me to open my tender pipes to such a degree as totally to hinder the poor labouring sailors, belonging to that ship, from taking any rest.

Next morning early, Chilton came on board the Eagle, and with a fallen countenance, accompanied by his usual taunting and unkind speeches, commanded me to jump into the boat; but far from being able to *jump*, I could hardly *hop*. I was therefore put into the boat, and conveyed on board our own vessel; where I was set to work at my old employment. I performed the several function, of my duty as well as I possibly could, from the pangs I still incessantly endured in my leg, which for many days after the accident happened, intermittingly discharged the most copious effusions of blood.

Pass we on to another circumstance that befel me, three or four days subsequent to that just mentioned, and which is not altogether dissimilar;

A common sailor, whose name was William Beckford, was another of the mutinous wretches leagued with those three arrant rogues that were banish'd the ship for theft but who, from a fear of being sent on shore with the brethren, kept his evil disposition from breaking out of that

that extreme rudeness and affrontery which so marked the conduct of the three exiles. By this dastardly policy, he saved his worthless carcase from almost instant destruction. Thinking, sometime after the banishment of his companions in villainy, that the agent would not be ready to send any more of the men on shore, even were they to carry their crimes to the greatest length, lest he should be too short of hands to work the ship home; he took the advantage of that consideration, and excited his comrades to shake off the cramping shackles of their duty, and to acknowledge no other rule of conduct than their own inclinations. This Beckford, whenever he happened to pass by me, which was frequent enough, never failed to hint to me, in a low tone, "I'll do you one of these nights!" At this, not knowing his reason, though I clearly understood his meaning, I took the liberty of asking him what it was he intended to do one of these nights? To which he would constantly mutter, but make me no direct reply. However, as I had too much reason to infer from the behaviour and the looks which this unprovoked offspring of darkness so often threw at me, askance, that he intended slyly to push me overboard some dark night in a gale of wind; I consequently began to consult my own safety; some dark nights had passed, and many days had elapsed, without any thing material happening; but my enemy, like a staunch murderer, steady to his purpose, in his foul mind pursued me close 'till the period had arrived that furnished him with an opportunity to *do me*, which he attempted in the following manner.

The assassin, in company with another seaman, who, compared with him, was a good natured, harmless, honest man,

man, being at work one dark day, and a dark day it proved to me, at splicing the forestay, in the foretop, and fundry odd jobs, happened to see me hopping towards the fore-castle. Now was my common adversary as busy as the Devil in a gale of wind. He went the full scope of his chain, and would have spilt my life, but he only spilt my blood. As soon as I had reached the fore-castle, Beckford, holding the foretop-fail-sheet-block in his hands, dropt it from out of the foretop, and it fell directly on my head; whether the iron hook struck me or not, or whether it was the block part I cannot tell, but the huge mass of wood and iron descending from such a height, struck me to the deck in a moment; I was completely stunned; my head was broken; my senses, and all kind of sensation, as to corporeal sufferance, were fled, and the clothes on my back were

“Dy’d as in a crimson sea.”

The French doctor, under whose healing hand I had been a few days before, was now sent for from the Eagle, and having thoroughly examined the nature of the wound, thought it expedient that I should undergo a surgical operation, in order to draw the congealed gore as far as possible from the brain; which having performed, he still entertained great doubts of my life: The agent, himself, who before this last accident, was none of the best of friends to me, now felt the edge of his rancour blunted, and his unkindness was on this occasion turned to compassion; and as an evidence of it, he sacrificed his own ease to mine, in putting me into his cot, whilst himself slept

slept several nights in a common hammock. In the agent's cot I lay many days and nights, senseless and speechless. This was my situation, agreeable to the account I received from my trusty fellow-sufferer, William Birch, on the unexpected recovery of my senses.

How came it to pass, that the breath of life, the vital spark of eternal flame, did not quit its brittle tenement? How inscrutable is the wisdom and goodness of providence, which prevented my spirit from taking its flight into

“ A world of despect shade,

“ Unpierc'd by human thought.

Much good was now brought out of this evil. This accident, added to the former one that I experienced on shore, not only the agent, but even the captain and mate began to take into their serious consideration ; so that a sense of these multiplied calamities, which came in such quick succession upon me, seemed to have wrought upon their feelings in such a manner, as to touch the strings of their petrified bosoms, and play on them the tune of pity. I was afterwards treated better, and received repeated marks of attention and respect.

During the state of insensibility, in which I was plunged by this violent blow, the agent sent for the man who did me the injury ; on being asked what he thought of himself, and how he could be so unpardonably careless, or wilfully savage to let the block fall, he replied as follows

“ Your questions are useless ; you may ask me five hundred if you please, and if I please, I will answer you ;
I did

“ I did not carelessly let the block fall on his head, I did it on purpose, and am sorry only that I did not *do him* out and out.” At this the agent was highly exasperated and did not want inclination to punish him according to his deserts, but knowing well that this infamous crew possessed the ascendancy over the officers, he prudently suppressed his intention. Since this affair happened I have frequently, or rather constantly suffered most excruciating pains in my head, and to this day have scarcely enjoyed freedom from these racking sensations one whole week together. Even were I to discover any symptoms of derangement in my intellectual faculties, I should be induced to date such calamity from this disaster.

About the time of my recovery, the inhabitants of this part of the extensive island of Madagascar, under the king of Baba, were preparing to invade the territories of a neighbouring prince, who governed a vast track of land over the mountains, and the natives of the menaced country were called the mountaineers, (a race of savages, not unlike the natives of St. Augustine's Bay) before the king of Baba was in all respects prepared for his expedition, a black herald, who had been on a reconnoitring party, flying with speed to the precipice of the mountains, announced that the highlanders, having the same hostile views against the king of Baba as he had against them, were on their march to meet the king's army, and that they were not a day's journey from his dominions—this stirred up the officers on shore to a preparation for reparing on board, which was presently done. The invasion, however, notwithstanding the proximity of the enemy had not taken place at the time of the officers removal on board. One of the servants

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belonging

belonging to the passengers on board the Eagle, being sent on shore with the seamen, in order to expedite the embarkation of the Tent, &c. was accosted by one of the natives, who fixing his eyes on the European's watch chain and silver buckles, addressed him in these words, "you friendly for me, me friendly for you"—meaning that if he would either sell them to him, or truck with him for any thing the black possessed, of the produce of his country, he might strike a bargain with him.

The European not very willing to accept the fellows proposals, answered him in the negative, saying, "No, I wish to have no dealings with you, keep your own property to yourself, and I shall keep mine to myself—yes, poor fellow, so he did, about the space of five minutes. As the servant was walking up the beach to go to the Tent, he was again met by this chapman, who solicited him again to accept his friendly offer; the white still refused to comply with the black's solicitations, as the former well knew that there could be no more concord with black and white, than with darkness and light; the black then said to the other in his own language "salamanga me," which imports "give me" the watch and buckles. At this peremptory demand, the European was startled as if he had been attacked by an English highwayman—but on his persisting to reject the fellows demand, the black child of Belial made as if he went away with much disappointment. No sooner had he retired to the distance of thirty or forty yards, than the monster threw his lance at the Englishman, and the keen steel striking him across the neck, wounded him in a shocking manner. He immediately fell, and after weltering in his blood ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, expired.

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The infernal fiend then ran to the corpse with a design to secure his watch and buckles, and if possible, his apparel, but was disappointed ; for one of the seamen belonging to the Eagle, who went on shore with him, arrived first at the spot where the murdered victim lay, and secured the buckles, watch and all his wearing apparel,—this the daring sailor did at the hazard of his own life, as he was in imminent danger of receiving *his* mortal wound from the same, or a similar hand, Complaint was hereupon made to the king of Baba, but he, with a species of unconcern not peculiar to the king of a barbarous nation, gave the officers to understand, that he could take no cognizance whatsoever of the affair—that he was not privy to it, and that moreover being at war with the mountaineers, the murder was certainly committed by some of them, and not by any of his subjects ; yet these savage beings are sometimes actuated by sentiments of pity, and generous emotion by which they are above the level of their own dull nature. That they sometimes discover the noblest passions in the most trying distresses is evident from the solemn ceremony with which they lament the decease of their friends. If they lose a child, three or four children of the age of seven or eight years either brothers, or sisters, or those nearly related to the deceased by consanguinity, are placed round the spot where the corpse is interred, and with long poles fixed round the sepulchral, with the heads of sacrificed beasts placed thereon, the juvenile band invoke the spirit of the departed child, in a kind of hymn, which implies,

“ Spirit that art flown away,

“ Listen to our artless lay.

X 2

“ Teach

- " Teach us, spirit, to do well,
- " Teach us, spirit, to excel.
- " Stoop, O spirit, and be kind,
- " Teaching those you've left behind.
- " Listen to our artless lay,
- " Spirit that art flown away.

At the east side of the Bay of St. Augustin, runs a beautiful river, which tapers away, as it goes winding up the country, into a pleasant rivulet, the length of this river is about nine miles, the banks adorned by nature, as if they had been ornamented by the hand of the florist.

Here one of our officers, struck with the beauty and fertility of the place, often made an excursion. Travelling one day, from place to place, on the banks of the river, perceiving some dry wood lying scattered about, he thought he could load the ship with fire wood. Returning on board he gave orders for the long boat to be hoisted out, for the purpose of loading it with wood. This was done, and the long boat was rowed away to this enchanting spot. Upon our landing, four of us were destined to traverse the woods until we came to another river, which furnished a perfect contrast to the country adjacent to the former, being as disgusting to behold, as the other was desirable—It was a perfect chaos—the abode of rats and snakes,—of darkness and horror—the trees that formed the wood at this place, were so thick and closely set together, that we (tho' boys) could hardly get between them. Thro' this maze each of us, barefooted, trudged with heavy loads of wet and muddy fire wood on our naked shoulders: the prickles of the bushes piercing our feet every step we took—Sometimes we were compelled to ford the river as high as our necks,

to

to procure this most necessary article, and then, thus laden, were obliged to submit to wade equally deep in order to put it into the boat, and not being acquainted with the navigation of the river, every step might have carried us out of our depth, and I, for one, at that early season of my life, could swim but little, especially with about half a hundred weight of wood on my shoulders. A full fortnight was devoted to this truly distressing, truly heart-breaking exercise. Were we all slaves in Algiers, or criminals.

“ Fast hammer’d to the galling oar for life,”

Our situation could not possibly exceed, in point of drudgery of body and distress of mind, what we here endured. Our officer, on contemplating his acquisitions in the repeated boat loads that were conveyed on board, with a *self-approving* smile, forgot the means that were employed and the excessive fatigue and danger that were endured in order to procure them.

I now turn my reflections to another officer, and though I have no reason to arraign his character, yet I should consider myself lacking in justice to his deserts, were I to omit inserting here, a plain and simple instance of his malice and inhumanity, to one of my poor comrades, who, because he was an inoffensive, industrious young man, became the object of his cruelty, and as if the calamities incident to one and all of us in the same ship, were insufficient, this man strove to add to them, and embitter the life of every individual that would slavishly submit to his caprice; I mean the poor boys, for it was perilous for him to open his lips to the men. To this unhappy young fellow the officer one day spake in this way. “ You paddy,

“ paddy (for he was an Irishman) “ come out of
 “ the top directly—come down that I may give it you,
 “ you dog.” (although the only fault he had committed
 was unavoidably spilling a little tar on the quarter deck, as
 he was hauling up a full bucket into the main top, which
 accident was occasioned by the motion of the ship. The
 poor lad, trembling every joint and appalled with fear at
 his destiny, came down and was instantly punished, in a
 manner similar to that in which they particularly punished
 another certain person on board ! When he had received
 his punishment he was sent up to the main top again, and
 there sentenced to continue to repair the rigging, which,
 as it was a service he was quite unable to perform from
 want of competent knowledge and skill, was not unlike
 forcing the poor fellow to make bricks without straw ;
 nor was he suffered to come down to his dinner, neither
 was any person on board permitted to carry it up to him.
 In this treatment to the lad, this officer took a peculiar
 pleasure, nor was his desires gratified even when swollen
 with malice and pride, he gloried in declaring that if he had
 the privilege “ he would starve the lad to death, as he
 “ had done many a man before.”

These reflections prompt me to cry out in the expressive
 lines of Dr. Young,

“ Man hard of heart to Man ! Of horrid things
 “ Most horrid ! Midst stupendous highly strange,
 “ Yet oft his courtesies are smother wrongs :
 “ Pride brandishes the favors he confers,
 “ And contumelious his humanity.
 “ What then his vengeance ? Hear it not ye stars !

“ And

- “ And thou pale moon turn paler at the sound.
“ Man is to Man the forest, surest Ill—
“ Heav’ns Sovereign saves all Beings but himself,
“ That hideous Sight! a naked human heart.

Oft whilst at sea, did this man send the boys up to the topmast heads or rather to the top gallant mast heads whilst the vessel was rolling and pitching in so violent a manner, as to induce us to think she would roll her masts overboard every minute, and the boy who might be unfortunate enough to be the latest at touching the truck, when he came down again received at all times a ropes end across his back besides losing his credit, (as the officer termed it) but who in his senses would study to be thought clever, or deserving of credit in the eye of so thoughtless a person as this, when in the dangerous and unprofitable attempt he hazards his Life!—Thus much for the singularly wicked disposition of some of my countrymen.

Another person in authority from a long and continued course of beggarly conduct towards the cabin passengers, some of whom were complete gentlemen, and all of whom agreed with him on most liberal terms for a passage from Bombay to England, had excited general disgust in consequence of his extraordinary ill treatment of them, met with a severe rebuff, in the polite and spirited resentment of a military lieutenant who, with the rest of his companions, conceiving himself treated in a manner not altogether consonant with the dignity of a gentleman and an officer, demanded of our officer a full and immediate explanation of his behaviour, which he, for want of sufficient politeness, neglecting to grant, the officer proposed to decide it by a
brace

brace of pistols : this the other officer accepted, and each taking with him a second, they ordered me and another to row them on shore : when they had landed, the parties went about a quarter of a mile from the beach, where they thought themselves secure from the eye even of the blacks themselves. The seconds having marked the distance, the duellists began to settle this point of honor. Lieutenant T——on firing first at our officer, missed him; whose returning fire also missed his opponent : one of the seconds now, either from his having descried me through the leaves of a tamarind tree, (for I had climbed into one that I might be a spectator of the transaction) or else from an idea that the spot they had taken would expose them to some interruption while they were in the act of settling the matter, desired them to shift themselves to another spot, where they might be less open to the natives, who on seeing two Europeans setting about to kill each other, might obligingly have offered their kind services and save each antagonist the trouble.

They, however, went farther, but not out of my sight, for through the leaves of the tamarind trees, I perceived them fire a second time at each other, when our officer having the skin of his neck, grazed by the ball of his opponent, turned round and wiped the blood off with his handkerchief, and in return he lodged his ball in the lieutenant's leg, which splintered the bone. He immediately fell, and both the seconds carried him to the boat, bound up his wounds and conveyed him on board : but he enjoyed no freedom from pain during the passage home : the splinters were all extracted by the hand of the ingenious French surgeon but the lieutenant will remain a cripple through life.

He

He was a young man about 24 years of age, his body and mind richly fraught with nature's favors—he was affably disposed to all, and possessed a truly philosophic temper. He was handsome, and his symmetry altogether perfect. How long will gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen listen to the dictates of false honour! surely they might invent some method less disastrous in its consequence!

Having now gone pretty well through the relation of those occurrences that more particularly engaged my observation during our stay at this place, I beg leave, next, to drop a few words on the untimely end of those three unfortunate persons, Howard, McFarlane and Waters, who for their misconduct were banished the ship to take up their abode on the island, and here it will be requisite in the first place to observe that Haswell, the carpenter of the *Three Sisters*, with one Thomas Goodfellow and another European, were sent on shore also to take up their residence with the others. Whilst they were on land, Haswell the carpenter, through his skill in building, became the object of the king of Baha's partiality, whilst the other five were indiscriminately and not unfrequently the wretched objects of his capricious cruelty, which these poor fellows experienced, in a hundred various shapes. From subjects of royal wantonness, they soon became subjects of royal displeasure; and in a short time, even before our ship quitted the island, the behaviour of this black Prince and his Satellites broke forth into acts of the most arbitrary cruelty, for which conduct one principal reason may be assigned: the Europeans having no more gunpowder, or any other commodity to furnish them with, except their carcases, the king thought he had a right to the fee-simple of them; and possessed a right to them, as he did to the bodies of his own subjects. To convince the poor English outcasts of this

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and of what they had to expect from him, they were made the most complete drudges, and kicked about by the natives from place to place, like so much living-lumber,—the carpenter and Goodfellow were the only two that received any tokens of their lenity, which was ascribed to the following reason, although the existence of the latter was but short :

Hafwell, the carpenter, being a man of parts, and having given some proof of his knowledge in building, the king desired him to build him a house, with which the carpenter readily complied, and, assisted by two or three blacks, who served him as mates, he constructed a very neat one in the English taste. The king made it his palace, and a palace it certainly was, in comparison of the best of their own buildings, and was apparently so charmed with the carpenter's services, that he offered Hafwell his sister in wedlock, if he thought proper to accept her, but Hafwell made his majesty understand, that he wished no other consideration for his pains, than his protection, and to share the benefits and produce of the land, unmolested by his subjects—this was granted him, and the king having an Indian palanquin, in which his vassals conveyed him from place to place, he made the carpenter his equal, and in all things that the king possessed the carpenter became a partaker. And the *Christian* thought it an honor to become a companion with the *Barbarian*.

Goodfellow was also chosen to attend the royal person, as musician : in which capacity he played his part tolerably ; and the king now took great pride in having his person carried about from one part of his territory to another, with the carpenter on his side, and Goodfellow the musician running before him, playing his musical wind-instrument, till he sometimes fell breathless at his royal master's feet ! !

By

By this time those eminent offenders, Howard, Mc. Farlane and Waters, had paid the debt due to their crimes, being assassinated by the natives, perhaps in obedience to the commands of this mighty potentate. But whether so, or not, thus ended the wretched existence of those unfortunate men, to whom Great Britain gave birth, but who not content to bear their grievances with common patience till they might see once more their country, would madly prefer those ways, which in their inevitable consequences, brought them to this lamentable and untimely end. I have now only to add, the singular and truly miraculous deliverance of Haswell, as I learnt it from Mr. Mitchell, who very lately saw and spake to Haswell the carpenter, on meeting him in East Smithfield; and as this identical person (Haswell) communicated to Mr. Mitchell an account of what he had seen and endured since our ship left him on the island, and in favor with the king, the following short sketch of their conversation may not be unacceptable to the reader.—

Haswell told me (says Mr. Mitchell) that notwithstanding the marks of esteem, and the rewards which he received from the king of Baba, he frequently threw at him a menacing look, and on his darkened eye-brow, and on his savage forehead, wrinkles of wrath were gathered, that seemed to portend an impending storm, and this led him to an idea of the effects of the king's displeasure, which above all things he most sincerely deprecated. The poor fellow, began to ruminate on his situation, and to devise some probable means for his escape. Questionless he did, but how in this land of blood and cruelty could he be safe?

Whither fly in case these dark and dismal portents were realized. Should he fly into the cavities of the rocks, over the mountain tops, or into the interior of the country, he could not possibly escape the murderous hands of these blood-besprinkled savages, who like blades of grass spring up in all parts of the country. Or if he had continued with the king, the unhappy example of Howard, McFarlan and Waters would certainly have brought his mind as well as his body into slavery, lasting and complete-- And now poor Goodfellow, a young man 22 years of age, having given some occasion for the king of Baba's displeasure, was ordered to be put to death by his myrmidons; this princely mandate was instantly and cheerfully obeyed, and his lacerated body was devoured among them. The fate of this poor fellow was pitiable in the extreme, and had a keener effect upon me, than it might have had on one that had never known him. Many a cold, rainy, squally evening, he took both a spell at the pumps and a turn at the wheel with myself, and many a time sat we conversing, singing in concert, when our theme was *friendship*, and the burden of our song, "the love of our country," although we were then so many thousands of miles distant from it, as to preclude every expectation of ever seeing it again. This lad, the innocent victim of ignorance and barbarism, independently of his having been thus familiar with me, was in himself a mirror of goodness tho' surrounded by vice; he often wept when he saw his fellow countrymen madly working out their own destruction; he was industrious and indefatigable even to admiration, and honest to that degree, that during the most piercing times just after the loss of the Three Sisters, to
which

which ship he belonged, and from whence he was saved by the vigilance and activity of some of the people of our ship, that when an opportunity presented itself, he would not filch even a morsel of biscuit or of meat that was not his own; yet being half-starved like the rest of us, whilst laying at Madagascar, he was influenced by the corrupt company and conversation of the evil minded three that were banished, and at last prevailed on by them to imagine, that to leave the ship and live on shore would be a certain mean of lengthening his life—thus beguiled, the unfortunate young fellow went on shore, to mingle with a race of men who, as they are as *black*, so they are as *subtle* and *deceitful* as the devil.

The carpenter being now the only surviving white man on the land, from motives of natural policy, conducted himself with all possible submission and affability towards the most contemptible of them. This policy was not ineffectual, for it insured him the temporary cessation of every hostile intention on the part of these sanguinary creatures till two full months had elapsed, after which time, to his joy and astonishment, a vessel hove in sight, and making towards the shore, came into the offing and shortly afterwards into the bay—this proved to be an outward bound ship from Portugal to China. Here Haswell acted with considerable prudence and dexterity, the ship's boat came on shore to obtain refreshment, &c. Haswell, tho' still under the eye of the king, went occasionally on board the ship in their boat to traffic with them on the king's account: He now took an opportunity to acquaint the Portuguese captain of his intentions to leave the island by some manœuvre, and he knew of none more favourable to his purpose.

pose than (with submission to the captain) as he was trading backwards and forwards from the ship to the shore, to stow himself away in the hold, tho' to save appearances, and prevent suspicion, he wished not to carry his intention into effect, till the ship was on the eve of departure. A most piteous account he gave of his condition should he be doomed to continue on shore: the captain, on hearing his pathetic tale, with honour to his humanity, agreed most readily to take the carpenter away the night previous to their sailing; which promise he faithfully performed, and until that happy hour arrived, the carpenter continued to trade with the Portuguese seamen. Tho' the wind was favourable in the day time, and might from its variableness, have veered round so as to be unfavourable for their departure, the captain nevertheless very humanely made it night before he weighed anchor. Haswell now came on board & stowed himself in the fore peek among the cables. What pleasure must the emancipated captive experience when the signal was given, "all hands unmoor"!

"When rous'd aloft the willing sailors swarm,
"And with their levers soon the windlass arm,
"The orders giv'n, up-springing with a bound,
"They lodge the bars and wheel the engine round,
"At every turn the clanging pauls resound;
"Whilst all to court the wand'ring breeze are plac'd,
"With yards, *now* thwarting *now* obliquely brac'd.

The ship now proceeded on a voyage to China, and thus did he escape from this land of blood, leaving the king's daughter to any one who might prefer an alliance with royalty, to their ease, their happiness and their safety.

To

To return to our own ship. We were now on the stretch for Europe, but it was long before we were able to reach even the most southern part of Africa, and when we drew near the Cape of Good Hope, it was held absolutely necessary to put into that port to repair the vessel again, which in less than three weeks after we had quitted Madagascar became much in want of a thorough repair; sometimes the weather-beaten bark was so leaky as to occasion both pumps to be kept in almost constant motion, and sometimes on the abating of a squall or a settled gale of wind, we pumped her dry; but here I need not multiply words in describing the various occurrences, and changeable weather we experienced in the prosecution of our passage between Madagascar isle and the Cape of Good Hope, for in so doing I should merely relate a series of events similar to those that happened previously to our bearing away for the island of Madagascar, a full description of which I have already attempted to give. I shall therefore confine myself to the hurricane that at this time took place in the Mosambique channel.

When we drew near the Cape the ship was in a dilemma similar to that in which she was involved before we bore away for St. Augustin's Bay, and we were now arrived in the same latitude, though the Monsoons, which then raged so furiously, were, through the changes of the season, quite over, and we had nothing to fear from them, because we (at least the navigators) well knowing their stated returns, were well assured we should not be visited by them again had we remained in this latitude for full six months.

But the sole cause of our calamities was the utter impossibility of putting into any of the bays or roads near the

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the Table Land at the Cape without being discovered by the Dutch who were then in possession of that most excellent, and valuable Port. The old proverb "delays are dangerous," we now saw verified; for in the midst of our consultation we were overtaken by a dreadful tempest, whilst amazement and confusion seized upon every soul.

All the boys were now sent aloft to furl the shattered sails, for the mutinous men would not venture aloft at this time; and here I see with my mind's eye the awful scene which then presented itself to my view, and with the permission of my kind reader, assisted by the matchless Falconer I will make another effort to describe "our troubles and the storm."

"A storm deep low'ring blots the southern sky,
 "Before whose boisterous breath the waters fly:
 "Its weight the topsails can no more sustain,
 "Reef topsails, reef, the captain cries again.
 "The hallyards and top-bowlines soon are gone,
 "To clew-lines and reef-tackles next we run:
 "The shivering sails descend, and now we square
 "The yards, whilst men reluctant mount in air.
 "Deep on her side the reeling vessel lies;
 "Brail up the mizen quick the boatswain cries,
 "Man the clue-gatnet, let the main sheet fly,
 "The boisterous squall still presses from on high;
 "And swift and fatal as the light'ning's course,
 "Thro' the torn mainsail bursts with thund'ring force.

In the midst of these perils that stared us all in the face, one Thomas Andrews, son of Mr. Andrews, Printer in Eastcheap, and myself were sent up to the top-mast cross-trees

trees, to hand the top-gallant sail, which by the violence of the wind was blown out at each yard-arm. Andrews went out on one side the yard, and I on the other. Now was the time that our resignation to the decrees of Providence was put to the trial—Now to the windward on the star-board side I beheld a mighty rolling sea, infinitely more terrible in its advances toward our devoted vessel than any I have seen before or since, whilst it appeared, as it advanced like a stupendous cluster of green liquid mountains; majestically rising three times higher than the mast-heads, detaching itself into smaller seas, but soon augmenting to their original bulk, rolling wave o'er wave till they broke upon the ship. Hereupon I shut my eyes and clung round the bunt of the yard with both my arms as firmly fixed as the resistless impulse of fear could fasten them. Andrews lifting up his eyes in an agony that drove him almost to insensibility saw the high furious sea just before it broke upon the ship, and he, alike intimidated with myself, lay fast hold of the yard in the same manner that I did. To heighten the horror of the scene, and the piercing din that from the bellowing gust of wind and dashing of the agitated waters, continually assailed our ears, the powerful shock which the ship at that moment received laid her on her beam-ends with

“ The sails half buried in the ’whelming waves.

This occasioned a general noise below, and the monkey squeaking, the china and other brittle wares breaking, the great cabin and quarter windows going to rack, the sails rending, the masts cracking, the appalled officers on the quarter deck tumbling down to leeward, some receiving

bruises and others dislocated joints, and far worse than all the blood-chilling execrations that were exhaled from the blistered tongues of the wretches in the main-top, formed on the whole that horrible concert which none but those who witnessed it can conceive. Andrews now shutting his eyes said, in a low faltering voice, "The Lord have mercy upon us!" Though at other times he was a slave to the vice of swearing, and because an oath cost him but a breath would commit it with greediness at every breath.

Happy was it for us that we kept our eyes closed during this most perilous moment, for had we but once have opened them, it would have been next to an impossibility to have survived the spectacle. Suspended over the vast deep, upon two bending and cracking sticks, with the hull of the ship many fathoms from us, now on our right side, and the next moment on our left.—So very heavy was the roll to leeward, that when the labouring hull righted, she again rolled to the windward with that frightful velocity, that our hearts seemed as if they were in our mouths and our bodies as if they were flung into the jarring elements.

The distressed plight we were in could not possibly be exceeded whilst we were thus whirled about at the mercy of the waves.

It is here observable that one man in a particular station, has more command of a ship in a gale of wind, and can do that with proper attention which five hundred men would never be able to effect merely with the sails, and without his assistance. I mean the helmsman. As proof of my assertion, no sooner does the ship answer the helm, than the helmsman if he thinks proper, can either throw the ship *from* the wind, or heave her up *to* it. All this time that
callous

callous miscreant Beckford happened to be at the wheel, and now (that is, the time I was aloft with Andrews on the top-gallant yard) this base wretch perceiving the towering waves at a distance, advancing upon the ship, hove the head of the vessel against it, to the end that by meeting the destructive billows with more impetuosity, it might cause an increased motion of the ship, if not completely upset it.—This, I was told, he did with a view to shake me off the yard, and by so doing, accomplish his malicious, and altogether unprovoked designs against me; but his schemes were abortive; the ship for the sake of some of its hands, was not to be lost, for whatever may be my destiny, it was most obvious that there were others on board whose destiny it was not to be drowned.

Whilst we were sailing on the seas, bound for Europe, our provisions, even those that were in reserve for the cabin gentry, decreased very fast, and the men, under an idea that all efforts on their part to get the ship round the Cape of Good Hope, would be utterly unavailable, had concerted a plan to cut off all the officers, and to take the ship into their own possession; it was also agreed among themselves, *nemine contradicente*, that the command, after its having been wrested from the captain, should be given to the ingenious boatswain, and that their intentions were, in case of an unsuccessful attempt to weather the Cape, to put into some Bay on the Coast of Mosambique; meantime the men were preparing to mount three swivels, and point them through the holes of the windlafs, by which contrivance they fondly congratulated themselves, on the certainty of their sweeping the quarter deck of all the officers and passengers, with a sudden shower of grape and cannister shot.

Next morning a general mutiny succeeded their schemes, and the whole ship was thrown into tumult and confusion. The half starved creatures ran down below, some thro' the 'tween decks, others through the great cabin, and bearing every thing down before them as they flew to the lazaretta, tore down the partitions and took away several bags of biscuit, many pieces of beef and pork, and devoured them on the spot without being cooked; they then broke down another thick partition, and found their way to the cask of arrack, and boring a hole therein, drew off two or three gallons into their buckets. Having made themselves quite drunk, they came with raving madness upon deck (which was strewed with marks of their fury) and making their way to the galley knocked down the poor black servant who was roasting a pig for the cabin passengers, and which was the only one now left of all those that were purchased at Goa: they then seized the pig which was about two thirds done, and down they went into the 'tween decks with the exquisite mouthful: Pedro, the black servant following them. In the space of five minutes nothing could be seen of the pig, not even the bones. All was devoured. About ten or fifteen minutes after this, the officers, whose appetites had doubtless now got a pretty good edge, inwardly enraged at their dinner being withheld so long from them, sent the cabin boy to know the reason why it was not sent down. When he returned to deliver his message from the cook, the agent, captain and all the passengers armed themselves, each with a brace of pistols and a cutlass, there being a round dozen in number, and when they came on deck, demanded the cause of such incorrigible behaviour—the cause, one would think (tho' I am very far from defending the

the conduct of the mutineers) was too well known, for if hunger will break through stone walls, it is a matter of but very little astonishment that it broke through flimsy wooden partitions!

The sailors now being driven abaft on the quarter deck, the iniquity was brought to a conclusion, for on the motion of one of the king's officers who possessed a larger share of the milk of humanity than the rest, and who took into his consideration the deplorable state the men, and particularly the boys, were reduced to, (on account of the scanty allowance of provisions, and on the other hand, the dangerous state in which every soul on board must inevitably have been involved, had the mutiny been pushed to its height: this gentleman exerted his influence upon our officers, and it was agreed to allow the men two pounds of beef and two of biscuit, in addition to what they had before; but with respect to pork, instead of an additional allowance, it was rather to be feared that a retrenchment would, ere long, become indispensably necessary, there then being not more than three casks of pork on board—of pease there were none at all, and the small quantity of flour that remained was spoiled by the salt water, and thrown overboard.

Here I cannot help confessing that, in my own opinion, the officers and passengers were in more fear from the threats of the seamen, than the seamen were, on account of the consequences of their mutiny, for although the whole of them to the number of twelve assembled on the deck double armed, yet four of these daring rebels were determined to resist them all, having no other weapons than their knives, which they had already opened and made sharp for the purpose. In the midst of the harangue, before the officers had reconciled themselves to the claims
of

of the men, one of the king's officers, a passenger, belonging to the 100th regiment, kindled into rage at the monstrous insults he had received from one of the sailors, struck him with his loaded blunderbuss, and the ball fell out upon the deck—this provoked the man to strike at the officer in return—in doing which he cut and mutilated his face and head in a dreadful manner. The boys during this crisis, by order of the agent, were sent out of the affray abast the binnacle expecting every minute a general massacre, but (as I hinted before) good was brought out of evil, and the mutiny terminated in the benefit of those, who, otherwise neither could nor would navigate the ship to the place of her destination, other than that appointed by themselves to run her to, after they had put all the officers to death.

The two descriptions of people on board the Content, being now, in a great measure mutually pacified, the next topic of general consultation, was that respecting the most safe and expeditious way to proceed home, but from want of provision, and the decayed state of the ship's timbers, it was deemed highly necessary, nay, it was our only alternative, to put into False Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, as from that expedient, we had some grounds whereon to build a hope of avoiding the enemy, because although there is good anchorage, very few ships touch there, the Table Bay being the general rendezvous for ships.

Sailing towards this Bay, a sail was discerned one morning to windward. Fearful of her being an enemy, as we were so near the enemy's port, we shewed her our stern, but as this strange vessel out-failed ours, it was in vain to run. Hereupon the captain hoisted Dutch colours in order to deceive her, but finding her to be larger, and mounting a whole

a whole tier of cannon, we prepared to give the ship up in case she detected our deception. She fired a gun at us and we brought to, when the master came on board in his boat that he had hoisted out, with an intention, as we all expected, to take possession of our ship, but as soon as he had got up the gangway and had come on the quarter deck, he spoke to the agent in Portuguese, and instantly on board his own ship the Portuguese ensign was hoisted. This inspired us all with joy, but that joy was increased to extacy, when the Portuguese officer informed us (O how beautiful were the feet of him that brought the good tidings!) that a general peace was concluded between England and all the powers with whom she had then lately been embroiled in war. He then took his leave, heartily wishing us a safe passage to Europe, whilst in return, we all heartily wished him a safe and prosperous voyage to the Indies and to China, which, we had been informed were the places of his destination.

Now we embraced the wind—took every advantage of every puff. With our fear dispelled and hearts elated we pointed the ships head directly for the Cape, and only chid the faintly-fanning breath of *Æolus*, wishing for an increase of wind to swell and fill the spreaded canvas; for hunger, cold and continued wet, had made us all impatient of delay, more especially since the pleasing news we had then recently received, which insured us speedy succour in a port, abounding with refreshments of every kind.

Just before the ship had arrived in sight of the Mountain or Table Land, the agent was willing to carry all the sail the vessel could bear, that he might run in for the land, as the wind had freshened according to our wishes, and whilst
all

all hands were indulging reflections, inspired by their good fortune, their attention was, in so particular a manner, drawn from the principal object, the safety of the ship, that they were forsaken of that caution and watchfulness which experience, and the known uncertainty of the elements had suggested. The wind suddenly increasing, 'till it became a close reefed top-sail gale, the ship was blown on her broad-side with all her sails set, nor was it in the power of every one on board to clew up the top-sails, when

“ The wind that still th’ impressive canvas swell’d,
“ Swift, and more swift, the yielding bark impell’d.

This drove us so near the Cape, that at break of day we saw the land from off the deck, bearing S. W. by W. distant about twelve leagues. The squall being almost as short as it was sudden, so far permitted the vessel to right as to enable us to clew up the top-sails; had the gust continued, it would have been all over with us; the ship being then so turned on her broad side, that

“ Had the sails stood beneath the dreadful strain,
“ The down-prest ship might never rise again.

or otherwise the masts must have been cut away.

The wind continuing favourable, in the space of two hours the land became conspicuous, and I viewed with wonder and satisfaction that cloud-capt mountain, the Table Land, which, it is not impossible the poet had in view, when he observes that on the south promontory of Africa

“ Ridges of high contiguous hills arise,
“ Divide the clouds and penetrate the skies,

A late

A late celebrated prosaic writer, speaking of that prodigious mountain, styles it among others of a similar description, a part of the “ Everlasting Pyramids of nature ;” and Middleton furnishes us with a description of some of these wond’rous productions of nature which perfectly coincides with this last quoted author. “ Some of them” says Middleton, “ resemble pyramids, and others “ look like towers of various shapes ; some are of an “ exact square, and flat like a table ; (so is the Table Land, and from thence it derived its name ;) “ others are “ perfectly round as if they had been turned or wrought “ with a chissel ; some, again, so deceive the eye, that “ when you arrive at what you suppose to be the top, you “ discover it to be only the foot of another, equally high, “ craggy and difficult to ascend. In the Red Sea, is a very “ remarkable mountain, which all travellers are obliged “ to cross over, in going to Dambea. When you have “ gained the summit, it presents to you a handsome spacious plain ; in the midst of which stands another mountain of equal height, which you must also go over after “ you have sufficiently refreshed yourself on the top of the “ fertile and delightful mount on which you stand. The “ ascent takes up about half a day’s journey, and goes “ winding all the way up, and all the way you go it presents you with a most deep and dreadful precipice (perhaps like the frightful precipice at Joanna) the bottom “ of which cannot be reached by the naked eye, but only “ offers a gulf, which at once makes the head quite giddy, “ and fills the heart with a continual dread. Should any “ of the caravans that keep going up and down these steep “ and narrow roads, chance to meet another in its way,

A a

“ there

" there is the greatest danger of both man and beast being
 " thrown down the vast precipice, and broken into a thou-
 " sand pieces before they reach the bottom, unless they take
 " the utmost care of themselves in passing by one another.
 " What adds still more to the horror of the journey,
 " whether it be up or down, is, that at the bottom of the
 " valley below, there commonly runs a swift torrent of
 " water with a most hideous roar, which being echoed by
 " the adjacent rocks, and often heightened by loud winds,
 " as well as by the continual trampling of the men and
 " beasts upon the rock, increases the horrid din to such a
 " degree, that one cannot possibly here one's-self (much
 " less one another) speak, tho' ever so loud or ever so near.
 " Close to this is a remarkably high and hollow rock, situ-
 " ated in the kingdom of Gojam, so exactly placed by
 " nature, that it echoes back a word barely whispered,
 " with amazing force, and the joint voices of three or four
 " persons speaking together, produce a sound not inferior
 " to that arising from the shouts of a numerous army."

" *Echo*, in other words her silence breaks;
 " Speechless herself; but when another speaks,
 " She can't begin, but waits for the rebound,
 " To catch the voice and to return the sound:
 " Hence 'tis she prattles in a fainter tone,
 " With mimic sounds and speeches not her own.

This digression I have made *without* leave, but I must
beg leave to return.

The Cape of Good Hope is the southernmost promon-
 tory of Africa, and is situated between the degrees of 33°
 and 34° south latitude and 18° east longitude. The
 wind

wind being moderate and fair, we stood in, and about sun set, brought to our view at the distance of one mile, False Bay: when we brought the ship up, the sailors all went on shore and repaired to the public house, for there is one and only one, either public or private, situated at this place for the accommodation of sea-faring people, when, on account of boisterous and foul winds, they are prevented getting into Table Bay.

When they returned on board, being quite mellow (to use a toper's expression) they weighed anchor with that kind of alacrity that they had not shewn since they left the last drinking land, which, if I remember aright, was the Portugueze City of Goa in the East Indies, from which place we had been away now near eight months, Hauling our wind, we lay in along the shore of the Lion's Rump and Sugar Loaf Mountains, (two mountains so named from their being formed by nature, like the rump of a Lion and a sugar loaf) and then opened on the delightful town at Table Bay, distant not more than three quarters of mile, and with a lapful of wind, scudded into a birth and moored close in with the shore.

As soon as we had let go the small bower anchor, the agent saluted the Dutch fort with eleven guns, and was answered by an equal number from the garrison, and from the Dutch admiral, whom we also saluted, according to naval etiquette. In this bay a great variety of ships were riding at anchor, consisting chiefly of men of war, belonging to all the maritime powers of Europe, except the English; and ours was the only ship that had put into this port, since the cessation of hostilities. The reason for this is plain. We were the first English ship that sailed from India at the

season we left it, and were the first that received the desirable information of the change that had taken place between the warring nations of Europe, from the Portuguese vessel on the other side the Cape; and even upon our arrival here, the accounts of this general pacification had so recently been received, that not even the agent was permitted to go on shore, till they had received from Europe, official dispatches, ratifying the preliminary articles.

The agent under these restrictions, willing that the sailors might not be kept idle (tho' I am inclined to think not one of them would have hurt themselves or delayed the ship, by taking a day's rest, after the unheard-of toils and hardships they had endured, and the surrounding dangers which *themselves*, and the agent *himself* had, in consequence of their exertions, been rescued from) and knowing it altogether necessary that the ship should be hove down and her bottom repaired, before we could carry her home, or even attempt so to do, thought it, for that reason, highly expedient, to solicit the Dutch admiral's permission, and also his assistance to heave our ship down, that she might undergo a thorough repair. The admiral granted the agent's request, and directed him to weigh anchor and run over to the Bay of Saldanha some distance from Table Bay (where we were then riding at anchor) as by reason of the multiplicity of ships, and particularly on account of the storms of wind that blow from over the Table Mount, it was judged impracticable to heave her down in Table Bay. Next morning we got up our anchor and sailed for Saldanha Bay, and the wind being strong and quarterly, towards the evening of the following day, came to anchor again in a most beautiful river—Here the ship was completely land-locked

locked, and here the governor and admiral at the Cape, had furnished us with a hooker to heave the ship down by, and a great number of men to assist us, in this most arduous undertaking.

Next morning we weighed anchor again, and steered about seven or eight miles towards the inland part of this country, in turnings and windings all the way, passing by several small islands covered with verdure, and many more covered with camomile flowers which clothe the land instead of grass; but not every island that we passed by exhibited this fertile appearance, for there were a few that instead of producing these favors of nature, that are alike useful and ornamental, were on the reverse, rugged, rude and bare, or at the best, covered over with barren sand, or infertile gravel; yet the most of them are of the former description, and the river wherein we were dropping smoothly along, here widening, there contracting; and fenced with banks that screened the ship from the surly blasts.

These scenes, so peculiar to this part of the coast of Africa, formed a prospect so enchanting, that I am at a loss properly to describe it: all that I can possibly say, is, that it was a modern Eden. In this place we hove down our ship with the help of the aforesaid Dutch hooker and her men; and here although we all underwent unparalleled hardship and fatigue, in the act of heaving the ship out of water, yet I must confess that whilst

“ With ceaseless hazard and fatigue oppress’d,

“ Dismay and anguish every heart possess’d;

I, and I believe *I alone* was proof against these unhappy feelings: for when, in the midst of labour, I cast my eyes on the land, and meditated thereon, I have been lost in pleasing wonder, and the hope of soon reaching my own country, added considerably to the comfort of my mind, and operated as a stimulus to quicken, my diligence, and alacrity in the discharge of my duty, however slavish it might be, especially recollecting that *man is born to trouble*; prevailing at the same time on myself to command more philosophy than to repine at the destiny to which the whole race of mankind are doomed.

As I have not in any of the foregoing sheets, troubled my reader with the recital of those occurrences called on shipboard "daily occurrences," which are not unfrequently met with in printed voyages; I shall take the freedom to pen an exact copy of a few daily remarks on the Content's log-book: a transcript of which I now have in my possession, and from which the following remarks are taken. I begin these occurrences from the day we first hove our ship down, which was on the

29, SEPTEMBER

29, SEPTEMBER, 1783.

Throughout these 24 hours, strong land gales and rainy weather; all hands employed in unloading ballast, and putting it on board the hooker, preparatory to heaving the ship down:—Ends with rain.

SEPT. 30, 1783.

The former part of these 24 hours, heavy squalls of wind and rain; the middle and latter part moderate gales of wind: at noon cleared the ship of her ballast. All hands employed getting up the tackle blocks, gears and preventure shrouds; at 8 P. M. a Spanish polacre came to anchor in the river:—Ended with moderate gales.

OCT. 1st.

The former and middle part of these 24 hours light air and pleasant weather, got from the hooker ten labouring men to assist in heaving the ship down:—The latter part boisterous weather.

OCT.

OCT. 2d.

The former part of these 24 hours, wind and weather as before—the middle part becoming moderate, the people were employed heaving the ship three streaks out of water—carpenters employed caulking the bends—at night righted ship.--Ended with fair weather.

OCT. 3d.

Throughout these 24 hours gentle gales—hove the ship six streaks out of water—carpenters employed stripping off the sheathing—boys employed scraping the bottom—at 3 P. M. righted ship: ended with dark weather and heavy rains.

OCT. 4th.

The former part of these 24 hours severe gales attended with fleet—nothing done. The middle part more moderate—hove the ship within three streaks of the keel—Boys stripping off the sheathing and scraping off the shell fish or barnacles.--Ended with rain.

OCT.

OCT. 5th.

Throughout these 24 hours light airs inclinable to calms. People employed as yesterday. Boys on a stage along-side, scraping under the bends—the ship all this day lay in the purchase, nor righted all night. Ends with rain.

OCT. 6th.

The former part of these 24 hours strong gales with thunder showers—the jolly-boat moored to the stern broke adrift and broke to pieces on the rocks—the middle and latter part moderate gales and a clear sky; hove the ship keel* out of water—carpenters employed as before; boys on a stage alongside, scraping off the coat of tar, paper, hair, &c. &c. at night righted ship—Ends with fair and pleasant weather.

* The masts were now terribly strained, and the main-mast cracked most alarmingly, whilst I and two more were on a stage under the keel. It was feared either that the masts or the purchase would every moment break, they bearing the weight of the whole body of the ship.

OCT. 7th.

Throughout these 24 hours hard gales off the Southern land and dark weather. At 9 A. M. the ship drove on shore at Scheppen Island, which after great difficulty was got off again at flood tide—shifted the hooker to the starboard side—At noon hove the ship keel out on the larboard side—Carpenters and men busy as usual—Boys scraping the keel, in order to its being paid with pitch and tar, and to be fresh sheathed—Ship all night on her beam ends in the purchase; men and boys on board the hooker, all night on the watch.

OCT. 8th.

Throughout these 24 hours temperate breezes and sometimes calm, made every thing adapted for sea; righted ship and put every thing to rights. Carpenters having completed the ships bottom, went on shore at Scheppen Island to hunt for rabbits amongst the camomile flowers, which covered the land; in the evening they returned on board with upwards of two dozen, which they had taken. The whole circumference of the island is not more than a furlong.

OCT.

OCT. 9th.

The first part of these 24 hours, heavy gales and squally weather. At 5 P. M. all hands employed, unmooring ship, rigging the masts, and bending the sails, preparatory to ships departure from the bay, for the Cape of Good Hope—the middle and latter part, light winds, but ceaseless torrents of rain; at 10 A. M. finished the rigging—ended with thick gloomy weather and some light'ning.

OCT. 10th.

Throughout this day, weather as before. People nevertheless weighing anchor, and setting up the rigging afresh* At 10 A. M. set to sea under close reefed topsails, with squally weather and showers of rain.

* And nevertheless for its being Sunday, merely to keep us at work *because* it was the sabbath!

THE following day, arose a severe gale of wind from the S. W. which prevented the ship's going out of the bay—clewed up all our sails and narrowly escaped a reef of rocks, in being driven backward into that part of Saldanha Bay, wherein the Dutch had land-locked their homeward bound East India ships, and had set them on fire on the approach of the English fleet, on our outward passage. The Middleburg, one of the Dutch East India ships here alluded to, was the ship that became a prey to the flames, and here tho' almost three years were elapsed since that period, yet the greater part of that very ship's hull was there still, and in the same spot where she lay at the time she was blown up. The only preceptible alteration in her, was, that the hull (as was natural) appeared much weather beaten—the Dutch during that space of time, had not once thought of converting this wood to use.

Having waited one day and a few hours, the wind and weather having become favourable, we got up our anchor, left the bay and made directly for the Cape of Good Hope.

Having now a gentle breeze and moderate sea; a ship thoroughly repaired, clean and dry decks, and a view of the Table Land, which was then clear and unclouded, with the sun just rising above it, I experienced the highest gratification

tification since we first saw the island of Madagascar, on *that* serene morning which succeeded many a night of woe. A scene like this, I was, however, not permitted long to enjoy, for before noon the ship had brought Penguin Island in view, and at 6 P. M. we drew so near Table Bay, that this Island was only half a mile a head of us. The wind veering to the S. E. we were obliged to brace all sharp up, and it was difficult to determine whether the ship would be able to go to windward or to leeward of this island. The wind now strengthened, and the vessel, owing to her smooth bottom, sailed faster than was expected, so that in less than five minutes we were within a furlong of the rocks. The helmsman now put the helm hard off lee, that the ship might luff up and go to windward, but she made so much way through the water, that we could sail neither to windward nor to leeward of the island, without throwing the vessel in stays—in attempting this, she lost stays and the head fell round again, and having now

“A gale, a heightened sea, and leeward shore,”

we expected every moment to be dashed on the rocks. All hands being now in the utmost concern for the preservation of their lives, as soon as the ship had missed stays, confusedly attempted to wear her, and bring her on the other tack—this was most miraculously effected. She wore; yet so narrow was our escape, that when she was brought on the other tack, the counter and rudder were inclosed by the thick weeds within three fathoms of the rocks: So very thick were the weeds on the water, that at the ships stern the surface of the sea could not be seen, and yet they did not sensibly impede the ships way, for by the assistance of a sudden gust of wind, the ship was driven with the utmost force

force out of that danger, which, not two minutes before stared us all in the face. This was a squall happy in its effects towards ship and men, but how seldom does a squall prove the instrument of good to mariners! rather how many instances have we upon record, of the dire consequences of squalls!—Let three instances, independantly of various others, speak the sad, the dismal truth. I mean the fate of admiral Sir Clodelly Shovel, who, on the 22d. of November, 1707, was lost on the rocks of Scilly, in the Coronation of 120 guns; and several other line of battle ships perished with all their men, on that terrible squally night. The fate also, of admiral Balchen, who in the year 1744, was lost in the Victory of 100 guns, which with 850 men, perished in the channel. Also the fate of the Ramilies of 90 guns, which with 770 men were likewise lost on the rocks of Scilly: all these instances (if history is to be credited) were attended with circumstances similar to the situation of our ship, at the very critical moment of her being driven on the lee shore of Penguin Island.

The damage we here received was comparatively trivial—the fore-mast was sprung, and the main-mast otherwise injured, but nobody hurt on board. The unfortunate sails, however,

“ Into a thousand fitting shreds were torn.”

Thus distressed, we bore away down the west side of the island, and turning round the north side, made in for Table Bay. When we had come to anchor we found lying here the British and French fleets; the articles of pacification, had, during our absence, been ratified, and the Dutch at this place had received them. It was a peculiarly pleasing reflection, that here the mighty men of war which so lately in

in the eastern world, had poured the thundering implements of death and slaughter into the very body of each other, now lay in perfect amity at anchor together; and the contending mortals whose breasts, burning with patriotic fire, agonized for victory till the mangled limbs of men slain in the conflict, strewed the blood-stained decks, and streams of human gore filled the scuppers of almost every ship in the fleet, now meet each other on shore and enjoy each others company with the most reciprocal harmony. I here chiefly allude to the English and French officers, but the common tars themselves were not backward to evince, with their accustomed bluntness, the happiness they felt in having now an opportunity of serving those who were lately their enemies, and this I think will require no farther proof than the following anecdote which I shall give of the conduct as well of the French officers, as of the sailors: but here I can speak only for myself and those who were with me, yet from their behaviour towards individuals and strangers, it is not difficult to form a just notion of that spirit of pure philanthropy for which the French nation is as remarkable as any other.

About a week subsequent to our arrival in this bay from the Bay of Saldanha, his majesty's ship Sceptre of 64 guns detached from the East India fleet on the coast of Coromandel, in her passage home, had put into this bay, having lost all her masts in a terrible gale of wind off the island of Madagascar, and had come in here under jury masts; the commodore of the British squadron then laying in this bay was at a loss how and where to get masts for a ship of her rate; on reflection, his majesty's ship Exeter of the same rate with the sceptre being a very old ship and having also suffered exceedingly in the then late actions with the
French

French in India, an expedient was proposed by commodore King to take away the masts of the *Exeter* and ship them on board the *Sceptre*: this was agreed to and soon put into execution.—It being quite impracticable to navigate the old *Exeter* home to Europe without masts, commodore King proposed to the Dutch, the sale of that ship on condition that they would allow his majesty an adequate consideration for her. The proposal being made to the governor and council on shore, they offered the vast sum of five hundred dollars for the *Exeter*!—at which the English commodore, far from being satisfied, conceived the Dutch answer, a mark of indignity and contempt to the British flag: he therefore instantly ordered that the *Exeter* should be burnt at her anchors; which was done the next morning.

It was the fate of our unfortunate ship, to be made at all times when occasion demanded, the lumber-barge, and our seamen the wretched slaves of his majesty's service, for being ourselves under charter-party with government, purporting to convey the king's troops from England to the place of our destination, the king's officer, from a misconstruction of the real purport of the said charter-party, not knowing that on the disembarkation of the troops, the tenor of the contract was dissolved, compelled us to submit to every servile employment when orders came in the name of his majesty! pursuant therefore, to this false sense, of the charter, we received orders from commodore King, just before the destruction of the *Exeter*, to send our long-boat along-side that ship which then lay two miles to the leeward, and outside of the whole fleet, in order to unload her of all her stores, but particularly her iron ballast of which many tons were on board; and to take
it

it on board our own ship, for the purpose of conveying it home—this we did for a long time, till we had quite cleared the Exeter. Every day this service occasioned us to beat to windward in the boat, which, each time, was so full of pig ballast, that the boat was always half full of water as soon as we had put off from the Exeter: in this dangerous plight, unable to fetch our own ship, to save our sinking. We were put to the necessity of touching along side the first ship we could reach, which, every time, happened to be a French ship. The first vessel we came along side of, the commander perceiving us to be English, ordered his men to throw us a rope to make the boat fast by, whilst himself ran to the tafferel, shipped the stern-ladder, (for the boat was borne astern) and steadied the rope ladder with his own hands, whilst we, dirty, wet and ragged as we were, might the more easily ascend and come on board. This done, three or more of the French seamen jumped into the boat and bailed it dry themselves, unasked by us, and unbidden by their officers: meanwhile, we were all taken down below into their spacious 'tween-decks, where each of us was presented with a clean and dry change of clothing—hardly had we shifted ourselves, when a most acceptable mess of fricassée, with bread, butter and cheese, and after that as much French wine as we thought proper to partake of, were generously set before us. Soon as we had fared thus sumptuously we were all (the wind blowing so hard and so foul as to prevent our going on board our own ship) compassionately prevailed upon to accept their hammocks, whilst themselves (sacrificing their own ease to ours) chose to sleep on the sails that lay on deck. Almost lost in gratitude and wonder, I could hardly sleep, or if I did sleep, I was often awaked by the impression their hospitality

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pitality had made on my mind—Next morning, the weather being fine, they re-bailed out our boat as they continued to do, spell and spell about, during the night, and shaking hands with all of us, wished their guests most cordially, *bon jour*, Pleased as I found myself at the great kindness of this people, I had, at the same time, much reason for unhappiness, in that it lay not in my power to evince the grateful sense I entertained of this truly unmerited kindness, but that which was a source of greater unhappiness still, was the uncouth carriage of my comrades, who tho' they might have felt some slight impressions of gratitude, yet their awkward way of shewing it hurt me much: but of those to whom little is given, little can reasonably be expected.

Having now returned on board the *Content*, the first thing we were set about (after having unladen the long boat of the pig ballast) was to do just the same thing again, as we had done the day before;—thus were we employed every day, and in the manner before mentioned were we distressed every day, (one day only excepted) whilst unloading the *Exeter*. Every day we put along-side so many different ships (and they were all French) and from each ship we experienced the like testimonies of that benignity and good-will so peculiar at that time to the people of that nation.

Not more than a week after this, a boat's company belonging to one of the French vessels, thro' distress, similar to that which sent us on board their vessels, came along-side ours—and I am grieved, for the sake of the English name, to say—*only along-side*. Our brute of a captain denied these poor fellows the privilege of even coming on board—they herefore lay along-side tossed about, and exposed to the
imminent

imminent danger of being washed out of their boat, or having their boat staved against the ship's beams. Neither of us who had been the favored recipients of their wholesome cordials, when we sought shelter from the waves on board their floating hospitals, could bring to our recollection any of the men that formed this boat's company, but had it happened that I could have recollected one single face, I, for one, would have trampled under foot the injunctions of our unkind and ungenerous captain, and laugh at the consequences. One of us, nevertheless, gave them from out of the port-holes, some of our provisions that we got from shore, for which they seemed exceedingly thankful.

Having said so much in favour of the French as individuals, nor less as a nation, I may probably be accused of being tinctured with jacobinical principles, and may be thought to favour the present system of anarchy, that now rules with a rod of iron, the pitied millions of that afflicted country, if I here omit to draw a line of comparison between the genius of the French at this time, and that which they possessed ten or twelve years ago——But I must acknowledge both my inability and my disinclination, to enter the wide field of politics:—nor am I a metaphysician. But should any doubt enter the mind of my reader, all that I could pretend to say on that point, is, that ten or twelve years cannot be imagined to have revolved with so wonder-working an effect upon the dispositions of twenty-five millions of people, as to hurry them from the extreme of virtue to the extreme of vice: No; If the people are degenerated now, they were no less degenerated at the very time that they were excited to acts of benevolence, of mercy and of sympathy, even to strangers. I *could* drop a few words more, but if I attempt it, I may as well drop my
C c 2
pen

pen at once. But he that would slander a people from whom he has received multiplied tokens of friendship, and by whose aid his life has been saved, deserves to be blown into griskins from the mouth of a 42 pounder.

I indulge the firmest persuasion that should these pages fall into the hands of malice, and narrow-hearted bigotry, which dog with a malignant eye every thing that thwarts their favorite system, or that disagrees with the political creed of such partizans, (if any such there should be that might peruse them.) I am firm, I say, in the persuasion that even in this case, no misconstruction can be put on my language; for although I cannot be prevailed on to rail at those who are some of the natives of a country, the mock-legislators of which, by making terror the *order of the day*, compel their vassals to draw the sword against my country, yet I must not be understood as if actuated by gratitude for acts of friendship that I have received from them, and which was long before the revolution, to wish *that* success to their cause, which is the wish of too many of his majesty's subjects, that might ultimately prejudice the commercial or individual interests of my mother-country, to which I am attached by a thousand most endearing considerations.

Having made these remarks upon an occurrence I thought necessary to state relative to the treatment I experienced from the French, I shall, in the next place, return into my common channel, and turn my thoughts towards a preparation to sail for England: and for this purpose, having finished our slavery with the Exeter, we were permitted to send our boat on shore for fresh provisions both animal and vegetable: when it return'd, it brought on
board

board beef and mutton, with carrots, turnips, lettuces and other European vegetables; of which we made what we had not made for full three years and a half before, a pleasant English meal.

The sheep at this place are remarkable for their tails, which are so generally known all over the world, that there is hardly need for any remark of mine,—they differ however, from all other sheep in this prodigious tail of theirs, which is usually a solid lump of fat, weighing from ten to fifteen pounds.

The butchers here are a truly awkward squad, when assembled in the slaughter-house on the day of sacrifice. Had these persons even the ingenuity of the poor animals they daily butcher, they might save themselves inconceivable trouble and time, by felling their oxen in the manner that Mitchell did at Madagascar, instead of which they have a habit of knocking the poor animal on the head, and turning it into a bruised excrescence, before they are able to bring the tortured creature to the ground. I one day stood a few minutes to observe them in their operation, and I really think the life of the ox was taken away by inches, as they beat it on the head more than twenty times before it fell.

Grapes are also in great abundance at this town, and very cheap; for the accomodation of sea-faring people bread and butter are sold in small quantities with coffee tea and chocolate, by the inhabitants, who erect booths around the landing-place; but very little of this can be purchased for less than a dollar; so that those articles which ought to be most dear, are here extremely cheap; and those which in England are the most common and reasonable, are at this place most exorbitantly dear.

On

On the 25th DECEMBER, 1783,

Arose a heavy gale of wind from off the Table, in the midst of which, the signal was made from the sugar-loaf mountain that two French ships were in the offing,—they appeared in sight,—one of them came to an anchor in the bay with the loss of her masts; the other by stretching over to the north-shore struck on a rock and was lost—all hands were saved—They were the two largest line of battle ships that engaged the English in the East Indies.

This hurricane being of long duration created sad confusion in the whole assembly of ships that were riding in this bay—The Content being half full of water, dragged both her anchors. All hands, except the mate, myself and two boys, were on shore, and the foremast was out and sent on shore to be repaired. The cable being fortunately already coiled on the main deck, in feaks that might be easily turned by one lad, we let go the *storm* or *sheet* anchor, which brought her up just as she was driving athwart-hawse of the French Hannibal of 80 guns (the ship that was so mangled by our squadron at St. Jago, on the passage out) At half past 5 in the afternoon, the hurricane increased, and blew with such violence that threatened the destruction of every ship in the bay; at 6 his majesty's ship
Cumberland,

Cumberland,* of 74 guns, moored with three anchors inside the bay, dragged them all, and drove foul of the French ship, Le' Heros of 74 guns, on board of which was the French admiral Suffrin, whom we engaged at St. Jago; the Cumberland, and the French ship with which she was grappled, lost each their bowsprit and sustained other grievous damages.

At 10 o'clock the next morning, La Naide, Frigate of 36 guns, a prize taken from the French in the last action in India, parted two cables with which she was moored, and drove out clear of all the ships, but by flinging her guns to hawsers and towlines, and throwing them overboard in lieu of anchors, she was brought up near the Cumberland, at the east end of Penguin Island.

Three French, one English, two Dutch, and five others were blown out to sea; some foundered, some were stranded; some bulged on the rocks, and others were totally dismantled. That beautiful ship the Cumberland, was seen at day break pitching her bows under water, among the breakers, within half a cable's length of Penguin Island, and it was marvellous that she was brought up in that spot.

* It is impossible for the human mind to conceive the impetuosity of the wind at this hour; the Cumberland, whilst she was driving with her three anchors down, fired signal guns of distress, and altho' that ship was not more than a quarter of a mile from us, yet we could not hear the report, but only see the flash of her lower deck guns. Of a truth the water seemed as if

“It burnt in sparkling trails along the Bay.”

This

This was to be attributed to the skill and activity of captain Allen who had recourse to the same expedient as the *La Naide* frigate, by slinging three of her heaviest guns to hawsers, and throwing them over-board in addition to her three anchors: hereby one of the finest 74 gun ships in the British navy, and all her men were saved—two minutes more would have proved fatal to the *Cumberland*, and to 600 seamen.

At 2 P. M. on the 26th of December, the commodore sent the *Hero* of 74 guns to endeavour to tow her off the breakers, which, being effected, in about two hours the *Cumberland* was brought safe to her former moorings, towed in by the English *Hero*, and the *Gibraltar* of 80 guns, commodore Sir Richard Bickerton.

This dangerous weather continued more than a week, with very little intermission, altho' it was now the summer season in this part of the world—In winter no ships can lay here, the Monsoons blowing to that degree, that—— But I need not attempt to describe it, for the Summer season is attended with storms so violent and fatal, no man can possibly represent the horrors of the wintry tempests. Here, even in summer, I noticed, as a prelude to the apprehending gale, the table was spread, that is, along, purple, winding cloud, full of wind, which covers the top and reaches half way down this and another, called the Devils Mount, this is the sailors warning, and upon the appearance of it, yards and topmasts are struck directly.

The Table Land is very liable to deceive the eye: it seems from the landing place about half a mile to the top, but it is well known to be not less than seven miles. Houses are built on the acclivity of this wond'rous mountain, and these appear to those who are standing at the water side like dog kennels, and are taken for such by most strangers.

Perhaps

Perhaps it may be unnecessary here to observe that the Hottentots are the natives of this place. By mere instinct, these beings possess, to a degree of incredibility, the soft passion of love. For the object of their *passion*, they despise dangers and laugh at the greatest difficulties. When a Hottentot is in love, he will, in the evening forget the fatigues of the day, and joyfully go many miles and run many hazards, to convene a few minutes with his beloved mistress.

Having now made as many remarks, as the occurrences of this time and at this place have allowed me, I shall take my departure from the Cape of Good Hope, and slightly speaking of those things that subsequently courted my attention, shall direct my course homeward.

On the 13th of MARCH, 1784,

The signal being made by commodore King, for the British fleet, (being fully equipped) to weigh anchor, the *Content* being ready also, caught the opportunity of weighing with them, and we had flattered ourselves that from the service the ship's bottom had received, we might be enabled to keep their company; but before we had been under weigh two hours, the men of war had run us out of sight: this occasioned the captain to drop anchor again, and wait for the *Winterton* East India-man, which was in readiness to sail the next morning, and we accordingly accompanied her several degrees; but as the *Content* out-sailed the *Winterton*, the agent, wishing to catch every gale of

opportunity for the purpose of expediting our passage to our native land, and tired of losing time in waiting and laying to for that heavy sailing ship, proceeded on his course.

The Winterton being now left out of sight a-stern, all sails were set, and it was the agent's intention to touch at St. Helena. In the course of our passage thither, we met, upon the whole, with pleasant gentle winds and fair weather, but yet, the ship beginning to be again leaky, we were in jeopardy continually, and we had now too much reason to repent our folly and rashness in leaving the poor Winterton so many hundred miles a-stern of us; and whenever the wind and sea increased, the water in the ship proportionably increased; so that in about ten days after we had quitted the Cape, and were within four days sail of St. Helena, all hands were one day kept continually pumping; an instance this, among many others, of the futility and nothingness of Dutch friendship and Dutch assistance; and I will venture to assert that even at the present time, and in the present posture of our alliance with the Dutch, the services and assistance they mean to grant us in return for that service and assistance which, to our cost, we have so officiously granted them, is, what it ever has been, and what it ever will be,—nothing.

To return.—Not having the gift of prophecy, though judging in some measure of our future situation, by the sad symptoms that now appeared of the irreparable rottenness of the ship's bottom; and a regular storm having set in, it was generally expected that the ship would be brought into a dilemma, not unlike *that* she experienced in the Mosambique channel, when

“ Black melancholy rul'd the fearful hour;

and

TO ARABIA, INDIA, &c.

and when with equal propriety, I might say,

“ At either pump we ply'd the clanking brake,
“ And turn by turn th' unthankful office take.”

And an unthankful office truly it was; but our present plight was not so distressing as our fears represented it to be: for we weathered the storm by laying to under a storm-stay-sail, and on the 30th of March arrived at St. Helena in safety, where we anchored in three fathoms water; Rupert Valley bearing S. half E. distant half a mile; St. James's Fort E. three quarters S.--Ladder Hill S. S. W.

On anchoring, we saluted the garrison with seven guns, which was returned with five from the fort; this, conformable to the Etiquette of European maritime powers, is the usual compliment paid by ships on entering the ports and saluting the garrisons, flag officers or subordinate commanders of the same country to which the saluting ship belongs; had we saluted any foreign flag or garrison, we should have been honoured by an equal number in return.

Here we found laying at anchor and ready to depart for Europe, the *Rodney*, *Dutton*, *Worcester*, *Nassau* and *Royal Henry* East India men, homeward bound from China; also the *Eurydice* frigate, *Combustible* fire-ship, and *Hound* sloop of war; the *Combustible* and *Hound* were homeward bound, but the *Eurydice* was destined for the East Indies, with dispatches for admiral Sir Edward Hughes, then at Trincomale on the island of Ceylon.

It was near this island, as I was informed, that his majesty's ship *Cato*, of 50 guns, vice admiral Sir Hyde Parker, accompanied by the *Hound* sloop of war, when on the passage out, to supersede Sir Edward Hughes, in the command of the English fleet in India, prior to the cessa-

tion of hostilities, was unfortunately lost. Altogether mysterious was the circumstance of this great national loss; the night was almost calm, and the sea but moderately high:—the Hound sailing about two miles a-head of the Cato, the people of the Hound at one minute saw the Cato with all her sails set, the next minute, or nearly the next, the Cato had disappeared from off the bosom of the ocean. Here a noble man of war, with one of the most exalted naval commanders that ever adorned the British navy, and three hundred and fifty English seamen were in a moment called from this world, into the great world of waters. It has been a received opinion that an undiscovered rock just under the surface of the sea, occasioned this most awful accident; but with reference to this catastrophe, a more recent account has been offered to the world; which if more genuine than the former, is less to be lamented, though, in itself, distressing enough. We must, however, receive that report, which carries on the face of it the greater probability. The latter account runs thus;

“ About eight years ago, the Cato man of war, admiral Sir Hyde Parker, in company with the Hound sloop of war, and the combustible fire-ship, in her passage for the East Indies, was overtaken by a severe gale of wind off the Malay coast; on which barbarous shore, the jarring elements had dashed the ship, and the greater part of her crew fell victims to the savage cruelty of the natives. One of the vessels belonging to the Malayese, being one day riding at anchor on this coast, was seen by an European sailor, who, on approaching the boat, saw a bucket, with the name “ Cato ” upon it, and looking on the stern of the boat which he knew to be European-built, he discovered the name “ Cato ” thereon

“ thereon, in capitals. Enquiring of those in the boat,
 “ how they came into the possession of it, he was told
 “ that about seven years back, a large ship was driven on
 “ that coast; that the natives saved the boat; but that the
 “ ship was dashed to pieces; that the men of the wrecked
 “ ship were in part massacred, but that the greater part
 “ escaped.” Admiralty, ’tis said, has taken this report into
 just consideration, and will send out a ship for the purpose
 of investigating the Malay coast;—should they providenti-
 ally find any of the sufferers, how happy would it be; but
 if they should meet with their beloved admiral, with what
 a welcome he would be received, the heart of sensibility
 alone could know.*

Sir Hyde Parker was appointed to the command of the
 English fleet. and was dispatched from England at a suita-
 ble time, to relieve Sir Edward Hughes before the then
 ensuing battle with the French on the Coromandel coast.
 This unpleasing intelligence had reached the ears of M.
 Sufferin, the French admiral; on the approach of the
 two fleets preparatory to the bloody engagement, the heart
 of M. Sufferin failed him, from the idea of his having to
 do with admiral Parker, whom he considered the most for-
 midable opponent he could possibly engage; but when he
 perceived by the distinguishing flag at the fore-top-mast
 head of the *Superb* (the English admiral’s ship) that it was

* It is now ten years since Sir Hyde was last heard of; and it mat-
 ters but very little whether we credit the former or the latter narra-
 tive,—the nation’s hopes are now become feeble, if not dead. The
 last affair by which the much lamented Sir Hyde Parker evinced his
 sincere attachment to his country, was his action with the Dutch, on
 the Dogger-bank.

Sir Edward, he was encouraged, and observed to his officers, that he had got the *old woman again*;—Sufferin then drew up his ships in a line of battle, and sheering up along-side the *Superb*, gave the old woman a most tremendous broad-side, which flew and wounded more than fifty of her crew. The *Hannibal* that was dismasted at St. Jago, by the *Monmouth's* artillery, now lay along-side the *Monmouth* again, and by pouring torrents of fire and ball in quick succession, over the quarter and into the hull of the *Monmouth*, killed and wounded near two-hundred men on board that ship. The French having the *weather-gage*, had also the *advantage* of the English. After a most obstinate conflict, the *Monmouth* was dismasted by the shot of the *Hannibal*, just as the *Hannibal* was at St. Jago by the shot of the *Monmouth* and other English vessels, (see the whole account of the action at Porto Praya road, St. Jago,) yet captain Alms refusing to strike his colours, hoisted them on the stump of the main-mast (the ensign-staff having been shot away) whilst at the sequel of the action, three other French 74 gun ships in hauling their wind, passed under the *Monmouth's* stern, firing whole broad-sides into her, raking her fore and aft, 'till shocking to relate, the *Monmouth* was a mere wreck; her hull was pierced through like a sieve, and could hardly be kept above water till they had put into port: the English suffered more in this engagement than in the two preceding. The Admiral's ship *Superb* of 74, foundered just after the engagement, in a storm off Trincomalee, but Sir Edward Hughes and his company were saved, and taken into the Sultan of 74 on board which ship he hoisted his flag: in a word, had the French pushed that advantage which their fleet unequivocally possessed over ours, during, and at the close of the battle (for they had us all on a lee shore

shore) they might have made—I will not say an *easy*, but, ultimately, a *certain* capture of many of our line of battle ships, or at any rate have driven them on shore.

Having made this slight digression, I now return to St. Helena: but of this island I can say but little—It has, to be sure, a very handsome and well planted fort, and considering the eccentricity of the situation, there is a neat little town, containing about thirty or forty houses, which are built with rough stones. The governor's house stands near the fort, and is certainly a building worthy the habitation of a governor, yet the desirableness of this possession consists not so much in the strength of the garrison and the fortifications, as in the accommodations it yields to ships in their passage *to* and *from* India. The soldiery here subsist on potatoes, yams and fish, and their beverage is plain water. Sometimes (when they can procure it) they drink what is called mobby, which is but one remove from water itself.

The town, which is built in a little valley between two steep mountains, has, from what I remember of it, but two shops; the one at the top of the town deals in all kinds of European wares, the other, in all species of Asiatic commodities. This place affords another convenience. Close to the landing place and within thirty yards around it is a continual shoal of Mackerel, and the water being always smooth, transparent and deep, their infinite numbers render the catching them, a very easy thing. The method we used, was making a large three pronged fork fast to a broom-stick and a line, and by throwing it into the water we seldom brought it up again without a fish or two. The mackerel here is much smaller, but equally as good and palatable as our mackerel in England.

Here

Here the water is twenty fathoms deep, and the rock at the bottom (for it is neither sand nor mud in any part) being visible, carries with it an appearance which, of all other productions of nature I ever saw, is the most awful. In one part of the roads or anchoring place, arises a rock, the top of which approximates the surface of the water within three or four feet, and there the descent is so steep, that at the distance of two fathoms all round this rock, the water is full twenty fathoms deep, and this is beheld thro' the limpid waters by the naked eye every time the astonished beholder looks over the ship's side. None but those who have been at this place, can possibly conceive nature's wonderful, dreadful form in some parts of St. Helena roads.

Being equipped and watered anew, we sailed from this island bound for England, but intended to touch at the island of Ascension in our passage, in order to procure some live turtle for the use of the ship's crew. Just as we were preparing to sail, a signal was thrown out from the sugar-loaf rock situate at the N. W. part of the island, that some ships were coming round to anchor in the roads. The agent waited their arrival, when they proved to be the Gibraltar of 80 guns, the Defence of 74, and the Burford of 70; here Sir Richard Bickerton, in the Gibraltar directed the Hound sloop, to accompany our old collier the Content, as far as the island of Ascension, fearing the danger that might attend a ship like ours without company; and as the Gibraltar, and the other men of war, were to touch at Ascension after their leaving St. Helena, they might meet us there and afford us their good protection to Europe.

Away

Away we now went, but the Hound kept continually a head of us with her top-sails lowered on the cap, whilst our ship was labouring away with steering sails, and royals set. The captain of the Hound, tired of our company, as our Agent was of the Winterton's, lay to for us, and when we had come up with him, he told our captain to lose no time in making the best of his way to the island of Ascension. The Hound then ran us out of sight in the space of four glasses, and left us once more to that fate, the evils of which no mortal could appreciate.

The wind, however, at the time of our parting company with the Hound, being favourable, in eight days we reached Ascension, and on opening the landing-place, we found lying here the Gibraltar, Defence, and Burford, and also the Hound. The latter ship had been there five days when we arrived, and having fully supplied herself with turtle, was weighing her anchor to sail from the island, just as we had dropt ours. The Gibraltar, Defence, and Burford, had also taken in a sufficient quantity of turtle, and sailed away for Europe two hours after the Hound.

It is observable that notwithstanding the apparent services our vessel had received in her bottom at Saldanha Bay, were it only in her being completely cleansed from the weeds, and shell fish, which had before so much retarded her sailing, that she should still sail so heavily, that although the Gibraltar, and the two other English men of war, had but just arrived at St. Helena, at the same time we quitted it, (and they must have remained some days at that island) yet, in consequence of the amazing difference

in their sailing, they had not only got to Ascension before us, but had even been there long enough to take in a quantity of turtle, sufficient for the consumption of their whole crew to England, at the time we had just arrived there. Another ship of war, which left the Cape of Good Hope after the rest, came into the anchoring place at this island the day after us, and because we were overburthened with men to attend to our own wants, and to provide our own ship with turtle;—and because an absence of nearly four years from our parents, and friends; a period fraught with the most consummate anguish of mind, and galling slavery of body, was not enough to create in us a relish to see them again, the seamen of our ship were now commanded in the king's name, to assist in loading the king's ship, which we did at the expence of our *time*, our *meals*, and our *rest*. This done, we received a proud mandate from the king's officer to get underweigh and sail for Europe directly (tho' be it known, it was far from his intention to attend us on the passage thither) without allowing us time to get any turtle for ourselves: the wind proving unfavourable (tho' favourable for us) obliged us to desist carrying the commands of this gentleman into execution. The king's ship however fortunately weighed anchor, hauled his wind, and made off, but the Content remained there; and as we had found it in a variety of past instances, much the best to make hay while the sun shines, at this time we made good that proverb, and got on board three large turtles.—The manner of catching them was thus:

Night being the only season when these creatures can be taken, six of us were sent with the boat on shore at midnight, in order to turn them as they come on the beach,
which

which they do in greater or lesser numbers every night, on purpose to lay their eggs among the rocks. At this place is a spacious sandy beach, and a very large surf continually beating thereon. All six of our company being in the boat, just as we approached the shore, we were suddenly hurried by the swell of the sea, into the breakers; a most hideous surf rushing in upon us, broke in upon the boat, and in a moment swamped it before we could get footing. Every one of us were under water some minutes, and although each could swim, yet every effort to resist so powerful a surf, proved unavailable. Certainly we should all have been drowned, had not a rapid surf that immediately succeeded, driven every one of us so near the shore as to get footing. We now struggled with the beating surf, getting, after much difficulty, upon the beach. We then directed our way to the rocks, but finding no turtle there, and the air being cooler than usual, our trowsers full of water, having neither food nor fresh water with us, and our weekly allowance of each being expended, we all receded to the beach again, where making deep holes in the sand, buried ourselves up to the neck therein, all wet and weary as we were; this contrivance was proposed for the more easily falling in with what we were in pursuit of, as the sight of a human creature would, according to the opinion of hundreds, prevent their landing to lay their eggs among the rocks.

During the night we were not so successful as might be expected from the secret position we had put ourselves into, for only three of these turtles came out of the water for the purpose abovementioned. The two first we attacked and turned—there they lay 'till morning without any possibility of re-turning themselves and getting away

E e 2

from

from us. Next night we did the same as before, but were visited by one alone, that we made sure of; towards morning another came out of the water; four of us attacked this, just as she was making towards the rocks, but the strength of the creature was so astonishingly great, that unwilling to lose her, she dragged us all four down to the water's edge, nor could we all turn her even then: she escaped, and from that moment we saw no more of these welcome watery guests. At the dawn of day we got our three Turtles into the boat, and after sending them on board, I and another directed our course to Cross Hill Rocks, where we saw some thousands of birds, which my companion said were called *Boobies*. Their feet being close to their tail, they appear to stand upright, and are not much unlike to the Penguin.

Boobies, however, they certainly are, for although they see their approaching foes, and not unfrequently their murderers with sticks in their hands, yet they stupidly stare them in the face, and will not attempt to fly or move 'till they are actually knocked down, or fastened upon.

Of this island as well as that of St. Helena, I can say but little, because I have seen but little, yet from what I did see, this I can say—the whole island, excepting the sandy beach, is nothing else than a mighty combination of craggy, sterile rocks; there are great quantities of ashes and cinders strewed all over the isle, which induced us to imagine that there must have been formerly a volcano here: in the next place, there is a small spot which seamen call the Post Office where they leave letters; their method is putting them into bottles which they closely cork up, when the people of the next ship that comes there, take out the letters and leave others in their room.

With

With reference to the Turtles, I cannot help observing, what I could not help *admiring*, and that is, the manner in which the young is brought forth—the eggs are hatched by the heat of the sun, and young turtles, about the size of quails, are seen bursting from the ground, as if they were earth-born, and are perceived running directly to the water, guided by instinct alone; but they are frequently driven back upon the shore, and are devoured by the immense swarms of boobies, which always hunt the coast. On these young turtles the boobies chiefly, if not intirely live, for as it is an uninhabited, desolate, craggy rock, without a blade of grass, and destitute of fresh water, how else could they subsist. Seeing then that it is a place of this description, it is high time that I leave it, and direct my views to a place, which without thinking of a comparison, is a land flowing with milk and honey; to which happy isle my oppressed spirits spring forward on the wings of eager expectation and impetuous desire.

Having taken our departure on the morning of the 10th, of May, 1784, we found ourselves at mid-day nine leagues distant from land, which was the last place we intended to touch at, during the residue of our passage to Europe. Now each thought himself nearly at his journey's end, tho' we were then seven degrees south of the equator, and in the centre of the southern ocean, between Africa and the Brazils in South America, being equi-distant from Loango in Africa, and Rio-de-la-plata, in South America.

When we crossed the equinoctial line, owing to our detention at St. Helena, and the badness of our sailing, the ship's provisions were nearly expended; and tho' the captain certainly laid in a small stock at the Cape of Good Hope and at Madagascar, yet he took not into account the unavoidable

avoidable delays which future contingencies might expose us to, and thereby plunged us again into those wants which we could only assimilate to those we experienced, which gave rise to the general mutiny on the other side the Cape.

Each man was now compelled from necessity to submit to a considerable diminution in his weekly allowance both of beef and biscuit. So little and so bad was *that* we did just satisfy our gnawing hunger with, that the whole weeks allowance was generally gone on the second day after it was served us. The crew, however, were not all reduced to extreme starvation, for having on board swarms of rats, which not unfrequently breed in ships that go long voyages, and our cook being a person who possessed no small share of skill in the mystery of extracting the poison from them, it became a powerful inducement, for to "slay and eat," many of the men, therefore, sensible that they were not subject to the old levitical law, and being so very hungry, as to be regardless whether they were or were not—or whether their fresh meat was savory or unsavory, poisonous or harmless, ordered the cook to catch and roast a few dozens of them: this the German cook was obliged to comply with, and after he had extracted the poisonous part, and had acquainted the men that it was not unclean, they were served with a couple of dozens well roasted, they ate them all in five minutes, and had a regular supply of those noxious creatures, from the very name of which common delicacy starts with disgust.

The poor turtles which had laid all this time on the quarter deck, sending forth unceasing sighings accompanied with tears not unlike a human creature, when shedding the
meltings

meltings of a broken heart, now came under the butcher's hand, and according to the agent's orders, he made the ship's company a dinner of turtle soup, but here Mr. Mitchell's ability, which he had shewn on former eating occasions, was now shewn in a way that returned him but little thanks;—the soup was not rich enough—the eggs, of which there were many hundreds were boiled almost as hard as a stone, and the whole turtle was cooked in a very ordinary manner. Complaint was not in general about the manner of its being cooked, but chiefly about there being no more to be had. The poor man who was stationed at the helm during dinner time, did not even taste it, nor any thing else; he nevertheless encountered this disappointment, and sustained his hunger with the most unexampled fortitude and patience. How joyfully would I have taken his place, and with what pleasure would I forego the rarity of a turtle dinner, even were it dressed up in the richest manner possible, could I but *obtain* and *retain* that most excellent of gifts, Patience.

The other two turtles were reserved for the cabin passengers, so that our luxuries were at an end, with our first meal; and now almost all was gone. The butcher had cleared the ship of that live stock that was natural to her, and off of which, many of the seamen had made many a meal, and being distressed and harrassed to an extreme by continual pumping, adverse weather, hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness, some of us were at our wits end, some at their lives end, and all of us, even the cabin passengers, were more or less distressed in body or mind, whilst without exaggeration, as the author of the shipwreck says,

“ At

“ At either pump our seamen pant for breath;

“ In dark dismay anticipating death.”

We were nevertheless, at this hour of general calamity; not above ten degrees from the Azores, and had we been favoured with a strong south west wind, we might have reached those islands in less than a week, but the wind and weather being at that time settled against us, we all despaired of any relief, especially as much bad weather overtook us—a clouded sun and gloomy horizon, added much to our despondency.

“ Whilst thunders wafted from the burning zone,

“ Growl from afar a deep and hollow groan ;

“ The cries of sailors mix with rattling shrouds,

“ Seas dash on seas and clouds encounter clouds.

Here we lay in the trough of the sea, nor could the ablest seamen guide the ship in any shape 'soever, through the liquid hills that beset us on each side, and continually rolling a head, into which the labouring vessel every moment pitched with her bows, and often had her bowsprit under. We passed a very melancholy day, but in the evening the sea having abated and fallen beyond our expectation, we let out the reefs of the topails, braced all sharp up, and sailed as near the wind as we possibly could upon the larboard tack, and on the next morning having got into a comparatively smooth sea, a large mast was seen floating on the water, when sheering up to it, it appeared to be the mast of a large man of war, which, in our opinion, must have been wrecked in the hurricane that had then lately visited this latitude, and which had occasioned that tremendous sea out of which we had but just before worked the ship.

The

The grasping captain suggested to the agent the propriety (had there been the possibility) of getting it on board: but the agent, who was not quite so covetous as the other, knew better—he well knew that delays lead to ruin. He had been taught this truth by long experience, and as a proof that his judgment was not erroneous, the event justified it most completely, for on the morning after the discovery of the wrecked mast, a sail hove in sight on the weather beam, and being a great way to windward she bore down upon us and hoisted a French ensign; in return we hoisted our union jack.* Hereupon the commander of the French ship came on board and asked us in a very friendly manner if we stood in any need of provision.

The Captain, to save appearances, took this opportunity to lay in a stock of bread, beef and pork, with a quantity of water, but not sufficient for the whole of the ship's company to be put on full allowance, until we might arrive in the river Thames; for even admitting that we had favourable winds all the succeeding part of the voyage, it was reckoned in that case a month's sail, and he purchased of the French captain barely enough for three weeks, giving him for payment a bill of exchange drawn on a merchant in London, payable at six months after sight. Much labour, difficulty and hazard attended our getting this provision on board, for the sea threatened each moment, the loss of the boat, and all its cargo, under the beams of the ship: at length the boat was discharged, and the provision and water

* From the point this vessel bore of us when she was first discovered, it was impossible we should have fallen in with her, had the agent listened to the proposal of the captain; six hours at least would have been lost about it.

flowed away, but the long-boat as we expected was afterwards staved the moment we attempted to hoist it in : we then filled the top-sails, set top-gallant-sails, and sailed directly for England. Nothing very material occurred whilst we were in this part of the Atlantic Ocean, until we arrived near the island of Fayal, when the weather becoming hazy and the air extremely dense, threatened a squally night. I was now inspired with many dreadful apprehensions, and that which alarmed my fears more seriously, was the remembrance of that great national loss, when so many ships of the British Fleet, under the command of Lord Rodney, after the memorable victory gained by his lordship over the French on the 12th of April, 1782, foundered in, or near this latitude. The doleful tidings of this event were conveyed to India some time before my departure thence, in the European magazine, out of which I got the narrative which set forth, amongst other matters of the most interesting nature, the singular preservation of the bewildered captain Inglefield, and eleven of the poor sailors belonging to the king's late ship Centaur of 74 guns, who, after traversing the raging ocean, in a small boat full three hundred leagues, exposed, during fifteen days, to the most severe hardships, hunger and dangers that ever were recorded, in the course of which time the life of every suffering individual was brought to the lowest ebb, they very providentially got their enfeebled bodies on the aforesaid island of Fayal.

In the beginning of the month of August, 1784, we made the rocks of Scilly, and sailed past them (which was rather remarkable) with a fair and gentle breeze—which fair and gentle breeze attended our shattered bark, until we saw the dawn of the next day ; and then—O what saw we

we then?—A scene indeed!—Not merely that same sun that on rising, tipt with golden tinges Madagascar's misty mountains-top, when, after nights of deepest distress, our gladdened spirits tasted that pleasure which the long-wished for land afforded each of us; but the same luminary of the eastern sky, shed its beams over the far more beautiful and happy, because the far more desired land of Cornwall.

The effect this had on all our minds can more easily be conceived than described. The land was about the distance of six leagues, and the sky, at sun rising, transcendently clear: the wind a mere zephyr. The lads on first seeing it, hastened below and roused up the men that had the turn to sleep—they awoke! All hands now leaped out of their hammocks before they had slept the watch out, and not compelled by duty or necessity, they mounted the pliant shrouds and joyfully surround the yards, whilst the rest, without stopping below to put their cloaths on, jumped upon deck, half clothed and half naked, sheeted home the topsails and set the topgallant sails—ran up into the tops—rigged out the studding-sail booms—set the studding-sails—hoisted the royals—set the driver—hailed down the stay sails and topmast stay sails, and stowed them—braced the yards a-square, and hauled up the courses. Our joy, which now bordered on enthusiasm, unable to be kept in any longer, broke forth into three such triumphal cheers, as seemed to rend the atmosphere; and at this happy hour, the unanimity on board was so general, that all the officers and passengers (except those two lifeless clods, the captain and the mate) manifested their heartfelt satisfaction on this occasion, by heartily shaking hands with the common men, and thanking them more sincerely for their attention to their safety in the midst of surrounding dangers, and throughout

the various stages of the most unparalleled hardship and distress, which they were well assured, the men had experienced during a passage of seventeen months from Bombay; and as the officers frankly confessed, that it was through the toil of these poor human drudges, that they were now brought to see what they sometime back, never expected to see, they as frankly forgave them all their foibles, instantly burying in everlasting oblivion, those intentions of resentment and displeasure which the conduct of the seamen on the other side the Cape of Good Hope, had, at that unfortunate season, raised in the breast of every officer on board.* The seamen in return, expressed their gratitude to the officers for their kindness and condescension, and went down between decks to put their cloaths on. At 10 A. M. the ship was abreast of Penzance, and we scudded along channel to the east-ward, with the same fair westerly wind until we had brought the Ram Head of Plymouth upon our larboard beam, which was at 6 o'clock P. M.; at which hour the wind died away, and remained calm 'till 9 P. M. when, as it was the dusk of the evening, the wind was perceived by the vane, at the mast-head, to have shifted to the opposite point of the compass, and we saw it coming on furiously from the North East quarter. Our extasy now met with a damp, and our situation changed with the wind. Now we all mounted aloft, but not from the same impulse as in the morning, but to haul down and stow all the sails. Now we as swiftly mounted in a minute to take in the Royals, top gallant sails, down fludding

* And how could they withhold their pardon? Hunger-bitten themselves, they knew what hunger meant, and its consequences.

studding sails, and lashed in the boom, clewed up the top-sails, and reefed them double—took in the driver, braced the yards to the wind, close hauled the ship, set the reefed stay sails, reefed the courses and set them, and now—

“ The sidelong canvas clasps the faithless wind.

“ The mizen draws, the springs aloof once more,

“ Whilst the fore-stay-sail balances before.”

At 5 o'clock A. M. the scene was altogether changed;

“ A dismal shade o'ercasts the frowning skies,

“ New troubles grow—new difficulties rise.”

Or at least there was occasion enough for them, but reflecting on what we had already weathered, these *troubles* were turned into *trifles*. We had a good sea boat, altho' she was leaky, and knowing that we were in our own channel, we bore the remnant of these troubles with a kind of becoming unconcern. The leak, 'tis true, gained upon us, but we were not dispirited, even when taking spell and spell about,

“ The pumps, with ever clanking notes resound !”

The ship now made great lee-way, and was soon driven over near the coast of France, but tacking about we avoided the danger of running on that shore ; and at midnight we supposed ourselves in mid-channel. The wind increased at one o'clock A. M. to a perfect hurricane ; the rain descended plentifully on our weather-beaten heads, and it was a circumstance highly favourable for us that it did,

“ For now, whilst wing'd with ruin from on high,

“ Thro' the rent-clouds the ragged light'nings fly.”

Otherwise the magnetic qualities of the iron that lay on our quarter-deck, might have drawn the electric fire down the pumps into the magazine of powder. We, therefore, threw all the iron between decks, and choaked the pumps up with wringing swabs; and then, undaunted, trod the decks all night. At four o'clock in the morning the wind decreased, and we saw on our larboard bow, distant about ten leagues, the bill of Portland. The top-sails were here-upon unreefed, the yards hoisted up, the top-gallant sails set, the courses unfurl'd—

“ And whilst the lee clue-garnet's lowered away,
 “ Tort ast the sheet we tally and belay.”

At 9 A. M. the ship drew near the Isle of Purbeck, on the coast of Dorsetshire, and in the evening came a-breast of the Isle of Wight, round which we were driven by a squall at South South-West. Here the ship narrowly escaped running foul of the masts of the Royal George, which seemed about two fathoms above water; and at 8 o'clock P. M. we brought the ship up in seven fathom of water, opposite South Sea Castle, at Spithead, where we were visited by a swarm of Jews, who perceiving that we had been out a long time expected to traffic, and make some good bargains with us; but how great was their disappointment when they came on board and were informed that we were laden only with Bombay diamonds*. They

* A nick-name given to our stone ballast.

They then, after sauntering about between decks, and looking idly at each other two or three minutes, thought proper to go on shore; no sooner were we ridded of our idle Hebrew visitants, than a visit was paid us by two Custom-House Officers, who, tho' they came on different business, did just as much good, and spent their time to just the same advantage as the Jewish tribe did, for though we came from India, we had nothing for these two gentlemen to cast their prying eyes into but Bombay diamonds. All the Indian commodity we had on board did not exceed the value of twenty shillings. The two disappointed Custom-House sharks now took their leave of us, and we immediately took our leave of Spithead, after disembarking our cabin passengers, and all useless hands.

On the 15th of August, sailing along the coast of Suffolk, we had pleasant and favorable breezes during 24 hours, and glided along the coast (altho' continually pumping) till we came abreast of the south Foreland, where, the wind changing, we brought up, the leak (tho' still temperate winds) still gaining on us very fast,* having, on sounding the pumps, thirty inches water in the hold, and we had no boats on board, having lost them all at Sea.

Next morning the wind veered round to a favorable point, and we made directly for Dover. Our fears and cares at seeing Ships off Dover, were now cast behind us.—Being come a-breast of that port, we threw out a signal for a pilot, and there came one on board, who taking on him the steerage of the ship, piloted us thro' the Downs. On passing the North Foreland, we hauled our wind, braced all sharp

* At this flattering period, we were not out of danger, for another squall must inevitably have torn our rotten timbers asunder.

sharp up, and at 11 A. M. passed Margate. At 12 the pilot narrowly escaped the sands, by sailing inward of the buoy. At 2 P. M. we passed the Two Sisters, and here we discharged our pilot. When we had brought the island of Sheppy on our larboard bow, the wind suddenly took all our sails aback, which obliged us to tack and half-tack till we came to the Hope. Now we all cherished the fullest hope of being soon brought home.

At midnight we brought up with the Small Bower, at Gravesend, and the next morning having the wind right aft, and strong withal, we stemmed an impetuous tide, 'till we reached Erith. Here we got aground, tarried the change of tide when we weighed our anchor, and arrived in Gallion's River a little below Woolwich. At 12 o'clock St. Paul's was in our view. The tide and wind being then full in our favor we scudded along, nor dropt anchor, nor tacked, nor lay to, till we came to moorings at the Red House, Deptford. This done, we discharged all our men, and all was done.

Thus have I concluded a plain, faithful and experimental narrative of a voyage, the occurrences incident to which appeared to me of so singular a nature as to induce me, whilst they were engraven on my memory, to reduce them to writing for the solace of my future hours. My person is now at home, so are my affections; and from that home I never mean to stray.—In England I drew my *first* breath,—in England I hope to draw my *last*: nor can all the brilliant baits of the eastern world tempt me to change a life so compatible with the sentiments I early imbibed, for the perishing existence attendant on the seas. Three years eleven months and fifteen days, were spent (I had almost said lost) in performing this most distressful voyage—twelve months and thirteen days completed the passage to India—eighteen months I remained there, and 17 months brought me home.

F I N I S.



James, Silas

A narrative of a voyage to Arabia, India etc

London 1797

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